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GULF OF PORTO, CORSICA.

Photo by Rev. T. T. Norgate, F.R.G.S.

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THE HOME-COMING OF RUTILIUS CLAUDIUS NAMATIANUS FROM ROME TO GAUL IN THE YEAR 416 A.D.

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INTRODUCTION

Rutilius and the Italy of his Day

The poem in which Rutilius Claudius Namatianus describes his home-coming from Rome to Gaul is of interest as well from a literary as from a historical and a topographical point of view. His lively and graphic descriptions give a vivid impression of the places he visited and of the social conditions which, owing to weak government and the raids of barbarians, prevailed in Italy at the time he travelled; while the high poetical level to which he rises when a suitable subject presents itself—such as the greatness of Rome, the merits of a valued friend, or the charms or strangeness of some natural phenomenon —shows that the light of poetic inspiration was not yet extinct at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. "The Return," in fact, is not only the most interesting of the Itineraries that have come down to us, but is also a poem of considerable merit, in which the social and political effects of barbarian invasions, and also of the growing influence of Christianity, are sketched in a vivid and attractive form.

At the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the state of things in both Italy and Gaul—the countries with

which our poem is concerned—was such as to cause no little anxiety both to possessors of property and to those who found it necessary to face the risks of travelling. It was a period when political and religious conflicts shook the fabric of society, when the attacks of foreign invaders endangered the tenure of property, and the struggle between the growing influence of Christianity and the rapidly weakening champions of Paganism unsettled men's minds, and cast the shadow of doubt on ancient and venerable beliefs that were closely bound up with the existing order of things. The poem contains frequent allusions to these causes of unrest; and to read it with appreciation it is necessary to bear in mind what the barbarians on the one hand, and Christianity on the other, were doing to dissolve existing institutions and recast them in a new mould.

Under the weak and ineffective rule of Honorius, who succeeded to the Empire of the West on the death of his father, the great Theodosius, in 395, and continued his inglorious reign—residing first at Milan and after 403 at Ravenna—until the year of his death, 423, Italy suffered severely from the inroads of the barbarians, especially from the invasions led by Radagaisus, King of the Ostrogoths,[1] and by Alaric, King of the Visigoths. The Vandal Stilicho, indeed, the commander-in-chief of the army of Honorius, while he lived succeeded in curbing the barbarians, defeating Alaric at Pollentia (where now stands the little village of Pollenzo with ruins of its ancient Roman theatre and amphitheatre) on Easter Day,

[1] See Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vol. i., part ii., page 731.

6th of April 402, and again—according to Claudian[1]—at Verona in 403, and starving out Radagaisus in 405 in the mountains near Faesulae, now Fiesole, probably within sight of the then tiny town of Florentia, near the spot where Catiline had been surrounded and defeated by the armies of the Republic in 62 B.C. But the relief thus given to the lands of the Empire was slight and of brief duration. Even before the death of Stilicho a host of barbarians invaded Gaul, crossing the Rhine at Mayence on the last day of the year 406. These barbarians consisted chiefly of three races, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alans—the first two Teutonic, the third probably of Tartar or Turanian origin. Gibbon thinks they were the remains of the army of Radagaisus, of which force he infers from a statement in the Chronicon Imperiale of Tiro Prosper two-thirds were not involved in the disaster of Faesulae. From this view of Gibbon's Dr. Hodgkin[2] dissents, as he thinks all the troops of Radagaisus perished or were sold as slaves. In whatever way, however, the body of raiders was constituted, they soon reduced to desolation the regions whose previous peaceful prosperity the poet Claudian describes with enthusiasm (saying that Germany had been brought into such a state of subjection and civilization that the traveller sailing

[1] VI. Cons. Hon. 201 sq. *Tu quoque non parvum Getico, Verona, triumpho Adjungis cumulum ; nec plus Pollentia rebus Contulit Ausoniis aut moenia vindicis Astae.* The engagement at Verona is not mentioned by any writer but Claudian. See Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vol. i., part ii., page 724.

[2] l. c., page 733.

down the Rhine was fain to ask himself which was the German, which the Roman shore),[1] and carried the terror of their arms over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees.

We learn from our poet (I. 37 sq.) that the state of Italy was little better than that of Gaul—at least in the parts of it he would have had to traverse if he had followed the land route on his journey to Gaul—and this we can well imagine. The first invasion of Alaric in 400, and the ravages of Radagaisus in 405, had rudely dispelled the confidence the inhabitants of Italy felt in the traditional impregnability of their country; and the second invasion of Alaric in 408, his three successive sieges of Rome in that and the two following years, and the ultimate capture and sack of the city by his troops, brought destruction and terror into the heart of Italy. It is true that the Goths made only a short stay at Rome—some three or at most six days—and, as there was much plundering to be done in the time, it is unlikely they did as serious permanent damage to the city by the destruction of mere buildings as some writers[2] would have us believe. Indeed, Professor Dill[3] points out that the poem of Rutilius itself furnishes a most convincing argument to this effect; for, in bidding farewell to the city, he speaks as though he still saw the crowded

[1] Laud. Stil. 1, 220 sq. Cons. Stil. 2, 186 sq.

[2] Such as Jerome, Procopius, Philostorgius. See Hodgkin, l. c., page 798.

[3] Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire, pages 257 sq.

monuments of her glory, and as though his eyes were dazzled by the radiance of her glittering fanes. Yet the disaster of the city's sack was a terrible one; and the deep impression it produced on the minds of the provincials is testified by various allusions in the writings of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, who, in their distant abodes at Bethlehem and in North Africa, were no indifferent onlookers. Indeed, St. Augustine's well-known work 'The City of God' furnishes a good illustration of the widespread effect of the news of the capture of Rome. In his Retractationes[1] he describes the origin of the book. It seems the Pagans endeavoured to connect the overthrow of Rome with the growth of the Christian religion; and so widespread was the feeling, and so important did St. Augustine think it to refute the belief, that he devoted his spare time during thirteen years to composing the great work, in twenty-two books, in which he endeavours to refute the belief that the prosperity of mankind depends on Polytheism, and seeks to establish the truth of the Christian religion.

Passing on from Rome, the Goths ultimately reached Reggio, which proved the limit of their advance, as the ships they collected at that place—to invade Sicily, as some historians say, or Africa, according to the more probable statement of Jordanes—were dashed to pieces by a storm. At Cosenza, near Reggio, Alaric died in 410 A.D., and was buried under the waters of the river Busento that encircles the town, which was temporarily diverted from its course to allow of his interment in the bed of its channel.

[1] Hodgkin, l. c., page 803.

Alaric was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Ataulfus, under whose command the Goths in 412 withdrew from Italy and entered Gaul, where, at the city of Narbonne, in 414, Ataulfus married Galla Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius, having, after long negotiations, obtained the consent of her brother Honorius to their union.

Ataulfus had already, in the years following 410, wished to become the champion rather than the enemy of Rome;[1] but, probably through the influence of Constantius, Honorius' general and adviser, his overtures for peace, even after his marriage with Galla Placidia, were persistently declined; and, though without actual battle, he appears to have been, by a kind of blockade of the Gallic coast, forced over the Pyrenees and obliged to enter Spain, where he was assassinated shortly afterwards, in 415.

Ataulfus was succeeded by Singeric,[2] who, after a reign of only seven days, was slain, when the brave Walia was made King, a worthy successor, though apparently not a relative, of Alaric and Ataulfus.

King Walia, immediately on his accession, restored to the Romans Galla Placidia, Ataulfus' relict, the custody of whom, after her husband's death, had been a chief point in dispute; and a firm treaty was thereupon concluded between the Romans and the Visigoths.[3]

We have now reached the year of Rutilius' journey,

[1] See the words of his contemporary, Orosius 7, 43, quoted by Hodgkin, l. c., page 821.

[2] Called Segeric by Orosius, and Regeric by Jordanes.

[3] Hodgkin, l. c., pages 835 sq.

416 A.D. The pitiable state of the country after the period of turmoil we have been considering can be easily imagined; and we can readily believe that the picture Rutilius presents to us of the desolated fields of Gaul,[1] and the broken bridges and ruined roads of Italy,[2] where the Goths had passed four years before, is not overdrawn.

Outline of the Journey—Probable Date.

Such was the state of things in Italy and in Gaul when, towards the close of the year 416 A.D., Rutilius, after a lengthened sojourn at Rome, set out on his return to Gaul, of which country he was a native. Considering the difficulties and dangers of the land route, it is no wonder that he preferred to take the chances of the sea. He accordingly embarked at the mouth of the Tiber, and coasted along the shore of the Maremma—then as now the home of malaria—until he reached Luna, at which point the poem, as we have it, breaks off; and we know not whether his further journey was made by land, as some conjecture, or whether he continued to travel by the sea route.

The portion of the poem that remains to us covers a period of about two months—from September 22 to November 21, 416 A.D. In a poet's journal of his wanderings few readers will look for the accurate time-table of a professional chronologist; yet both the

[1] I. 21. See also Professor Dill's striking account of the miserable state of Gaul, in his work, Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire, pages 262 sq., where he quotes the contemporary authorities.

[2] I. 37.

year and the very season of the year when the expedition was made seem to be clearly indicated. And first as to the year. It is obvious that the date of the journey and the date of the composition of the poem may not be the same, as of course the poem may not have been written during the journey, but may have been the work of a later leisure. Some who hold the latter view think the journey may have been made in 409 (Manni and Burlamacchi) or 415 (Cantini and Novis), and that the year 416,[1] mentioned by the poet in I. 135 sq., is the date of the composition of the poem, and not the date of the journey. This view, however, can hardly be reconciled with line I. 165, which certainly implies that the preceding words, including the naming of the date 416, were uttered, or dramatically supposed to be uttered, just as the journey was commenced. The year 416, then, in line I. 135 sq., is most probably given as the year the expedition was made, not as the year in which the poem was written; and the most natural conclusion seems to be that whether the poem was written during the journey or shortly after it, or even a long time after it, the poet in any case projects himself back to the actual commencement of the journey, and indicates 416 A.D. as the year in which it took place.

As to the period of the year when the expedition was made, we find the exact season pretty precisely indicated by certain astronomical signs; for in I. 183 sq.

[1] If Rutilius adopted the Varronian era, which is most probable, the date is determined to 416 A.D. The Varronian year 1169, the year given in the text I. 135 sq., terminated April 20, 417 A.D. See Clinton's Fasti, vol. i., under the year 416 A.D.

Rutilius says he left Rome when the sun was in Libra, just as the nights were beginning to lengthen after the autumnal equinox—i.e., September 21. He further says that on reaching the sea at the mouth of the Tiber he was obliged to wait fifteen days,[1] until a change of moon gave more favourable weather, and allowed him to set sail; and this fortnight's delay agrees very well with Scaliger's statement,[2] that in 416 the new moon fell fifteen days after the autumnal equinox. A further indication of the season of the year is found in the incidental allusion to the games of the Circus.[3] The poet describes vividly, though perhaps with some exaggeration, how the very shouts of the spectators in the Circus were wafted to his ears as he waited at the mouth of the Tiber. Now, Itasius Lemniacus[4] says that in the time of Rutilius the Ludi Romani began on September 21, and so the time indicated falls partly within the fifteen days' wait from September 22, the day after the autumn solstice, to October 8, the date of the new moon, according to Zumpt.[5]

We may accordingly conclude that Rutilius left Rome in the autumn of 416 A.D., and the days occupied by his journey may be arranged as follows:—

Leaving Rome on the 22nd of September he

[1] I. 205.

[2] In Prooemio ad Eusebii Chronicon, see Zumpt, Observ., page 8. See also Mathis, page 13.

[3] See I. 201 sq.

[4] See his note on line 201, where the various authorities are quoted. See also Zumpt, Observ., page 9.

[5] See l. c. My colleague, Professor W. Bergin, has kindly verified the last-mentioned date for me.

proceeded to the mouth of the Tiber, and there remained weather-bound in the harbour of Claudius and Trajan for fifteen days, i.e., until October 7th. At length, on October 8th, the weather took a favourable turn, and he set sail. The FIRST DAY'S voyage brought him to Centumcellae, where he spent the night (I. 217–276). At dawn on the SECOND DAY the voyage was resumed. The mouth of the Munio and the scattered housetops and waving pine groves of Graviscae were passed. Cosa too was sighted, and nightfall brought the travellers to the Portus Herculis (277-312). Starting before sunrise on the THIRD DAY they coasted along Monte Argentario, that here runs out into the sea, and got a view of the well-wooded heights of the island of Igilium, now Giglio. They touched at the mouth of the river Umbro, where the sailors, despite Rutilius' wishes, refused to take shelter; and, pressing on their way, they were overtaken by nightfall, and obliged to bivouac on the shore, extemporising a rough tent, and making their evening fire with sticks from a neighbouring myrtle grove (313–348). At dawn on the FOURTH DAY, they took to the oars, and, as they slowly progressed, got sight of Ilva, now Elba. Tired out by the tediousness of rowing they were glad to land at Faleria, though it was not yet noon. They arrived just as a festival in honour of Osiris was being celebrated, and were quite prepared to enjoy the festivities; but their pleasure was spoiled by the impositions of a vexatious Jewish host, so that, despite an unfavourable wind (Boreas), they took once more to the oars and proceeded to Populonia, the appearance of which place is described

at some length. Here news was received of the appointment of Rufius, a friend of our poet's, as City Prefect, and Rutilius gives expression to his joy at the event (349–428).

On the FIFTH DAY the wind (Aquilo) once again favoured them, and after getting a passing view of the shadowy mountains of Corsica and of Capraria, the haunt at that time of monks, they reached the region of Volaterrae, known as Vada. As the wind (Corus) was rising to a gale, they gladly took refuge in the villa of Albinus, a friend of Rutilius, of whose history he gives a sketch. They visit the neighbouring saltpans, and inspect the method of preparing the salt. Here Rutilius has the pleasure of meeting another of his friends, Victorinus, of whose career he gives an account (429–510).

On the SIXTH DAY,[1] i.e., the 13th of October, the wind was once more favourable; and gliding through smooth seas, they sight the island of Gorgon rising from the water. They, however, shun its rocks, that bore an ill repute, owing to a recent tragedy of which they had been the scene, and proceeding on their way they reach the Port of Pisa. Near to this was the villa of Triturrita, where Rutilius was hospitably received. The remarkable character of the Portus Pisanus is

[1] Professor Vessereau points out that the voyage—at first fair, afterwards stormy—from Populonia to Vada and the visit to the villa of Albinus would seem to require more than one day, and that therefore it was probably on the 7th, not on the 6th, day that the journey from Vada was resumed; the 6th day having been spent at the villa. There is, however, nothing to indicate this in the expression used by the poet (see line 511).

next described. Leaving their ships at the harbour, they visit the neighbouring town of Pisa by road, travelling with horses and carriages provided by a tribune, who was an old comrade of Rutilius. The situation of Pisa is described and the story of its origin is told. Rutilius sees a statue which the inhabitants had erected in honour of his father, on the subject of whose popularity our poet naturally enlarges with enthusiasm.

Returning from Pisa to Triturrita, they were on the point of once more setting sail when a sudden storm burst, and obliged them—probably not much against their will—to postpone their departure. They beguiled their enforced delay by hunting in the neighbouring woods, which abounded with wild boars: and they made the hills ring with the merry sound of the hunting-horns and of the huntsmen's songs. In these amusements the visitors no doubt found the time pass quickly and pleasantly; and they did not resume their journey until the morning setting of the Hyades and the setting of the constellation of the Hare indicated that it was the 21st of November. Thus just two months had elapsed since the travellers left Rome; and though no doubt a good deal of that time had been passed at Pisa, and in the hospitable shelter of the neighbouring villa of Triturrita, yet they had traversed the space of some 200 miles that lay between Rome and Pisa, with sufficient leisure to learn something of the history and traditions of the places at which they touched, as well as of the islands which, without landing on them, they had sighted from the deck of their ship. This brings us to the

end of the First Book. Of the Second Book we have unfortunately only sixty-eight lines remaining. It chronicles only one day's voyage, viz., from the Portus Pisanus to Luna; and here we regretfully part from our chatty and interesting guide.

Personal History of Rutilius. His Name. The Title of his Poem. His Father. His Career. His Reasons for leaving Rome.

It is now time to ask who Rutilius was, and why he undertook so difficult and perilous a journey, why he left Rome—the centre of the civilization of the day, and the object of his warm admiration and affection—for Gaul, where he knew he should find desolated fields and insecurity of life. The answer to these questions must be sought in the poem itself, for we have no other source of information about Rutilius and his doings. Indeed the very name of our author and the title of his poem are alike matters of dispute. As to the name of the poet, the points at issue are the order of his first two names and the form of his third name. In the Vienna MS. (V) the name appears as *Rutilius Claudius Namatianus*; in the Roman MS. (R) as *Claudius Rutilius* at the beginning and end of Book I., as *Claudius Rutilius Numantianus* at the beginning of Book II. Elsewhere[1] it has been shown that, in general, V is to be preferred to R, and in particular, in the present case, there is good ground for the preference, as there is a sufficient reason why

[1] See pages 78 sq. and 82 sq.

the more difficult[1] reading of V should be changed to that of R, but none why the reading of R, if it had been the original one, should be changed to that of V. *Numantianus* of R seems to be an attempt to substitute a more familiar for a less familiar form, and that such an attempt was natural, is shown by the other variants, *Numatianus* (Bologna, Rome, Castalio, Burmann, Wernsdorf), *Numantinus* (Cuper), *Munatianus* (Voss). The forms *Numantinus* and *Numantianus* may be due to a confusion of our author with P. Rutilius Rufus,[2] who was military tribune under Scipio in the Numantine War, and who included an account of that war in a history of Rome, now lost, that he wrote in Greek.

Namatianus of V is supported by the name *Namatius*, which occurs in Codex Theodosianus 6, 27, 15, as the name of a *magister officiorum* in 412 A.D. The person there referred to is almost certainly our poet, who mentions, in I. 561, that he had been *magister officiorum*. The name *Namatius* is rarely found elsewhere, and should, Zumpt thinks, be corrected to *Namatianus*.

Maffeius (Raphael) Volaterranus,[3] who was the first writer to mention our poet, gives the form *Naumatianus*; P. Summontius, who was the second to mention him, has *Namatianus*.

As to the order of the first two names, the reading of V again seems to deserve the preference. The

[1] More difficult because of the less familiar order of the first two names, and the non-significant character of the last. See below.

[2] See Ov. Pont. 1, 3, 63.

[3] Commentarii Urbani, Book iv., page 140, in edit. 1603.

poet had not a praenomen in the strict sense, or at least we do not know it. Both *Rutilius* and *Claudius* are gentile names, and might, as Zumpt says, stand in either order,[1] and the matter must be decided by the best MS. authority, and not by general reasoning. In the time of the Empire, it became usual to employ the gentile name *Claudius*[2] for a praenomen as well as for a gentile name. This would sufficiently account for R making the change to *Claudius Rutilius*, and indeed this common use of *Claudius* as a praenomen is the very reason given by Castalio (1582) for changing the order to *Claudius Rutilius* in his edition.[3] The previous editions, e.g., the *editio princeps*, Bologna, 1520, Onuphrius Panvinius, Venice, 1558, Simler, Bale, 1575, had *Rutilius Claudius*, which we may infer was also the order in Phaedrus' copy, owing to the probable close connexion of that copy with the Bologna edition. It is to be noted, however, that the Bologna edition wavers, giving also the order *Claudius Rutilius*. See pages 85 sq.

Castalio's order, *Claudius Rutilius*, was followed by

[1] Zumpt gives as an example of this the name *Ceionius Rufius Volusianus*, which is sometimes found in the order *Rufius Ceionius Volusianus*.

[2] Professor Vessereau argues that, though the familiar gentile name Claudius came to be used as a praenomen, it was unlikely that the less familiar gentile name Rutilius should undergo a similar change of use. He accordingly prefers the order, Claudius Rutilius Namatianus.

[3] Castalio makes also the following further changes from the Bologna edition: he omits the words *Ad Venerium Rufium*; he substitutes the letters *V.C.* for *Viri Consularis*, and the word *Praefecti* for *Praefectorii*.

the subsequent editors till Zumpt, who restored the order *Rutilius Claudius*. Of later editors and commentators, L. Müller 1870, Itasius Lemniacus 1872, Baehrens 1883, Arturo Trinch 1895, adopt *Claudius Rutilius*; Agostino Maria Mathis 1900, and Teuffel, in his History of Roman Literature, adopt *Rutilius Claudius*. This latter order, which seems to have the weight of both argument and authority in its support, I have adopted. I may mention, as a further argument in its favour, the ingenious suggestion of Mathis, that if the *Claudius consularis Tusciae* of Codex Theodosianus 2, 4, 5 was really the same as Lachanius who was the poet's father,[1] it may be conjectured that *Claudius* was used by the family as a gentile name and not as a praenomen.

As to the title of the poem, most editions are inscribed either *Itinerarium* or *De Reditu Suo*, while some unite both designations. The Bologna edition (B) has the title *Itinerarium* at the beginning of Book I., while at the beginning of Book II. it gives also *De Reditu Suo*. R has no special title, but merely uses *Liber Primus*, *Liber Secundus*. V has *de reditu suo e Roma in Gallium Norbonen*. *De Reditu Suo* is the title now generally adopted.

The great variety of form in which the title appears in different editions[2] makes it probable that the title given by the author himself had already disappeared from the archetype of both V and R, and from Phaedrus' copy, which was probably the original of B. It seems probable that some lines have been

[1] See below, page 20, note [3].

[2] These variations are given in detail by Wernsdorf, page 6.

lost at the beginning of Book I. (as almost certainly some have been lost at the end of Book II.), and the title may have been lost along with them. Copyists and editors would then naturally supply the deficiency by their own conjectures. The serious errors in the title of B,[1] while taking all weight from the authority of that superscription, give additional probability to this theory of Mathis, that the title of our poem was based on the conjectures of copyists and editors, and not on definite MS. authority.

[1] It has been shown by Wernsdorf that Rutilius was neither *vir consularis*, nor *tribunus militum*, nor *praefectus praetorii*, by which offices he is designated in the title of B; and that the poem was not dedicated to *Venerius Rufius*, as it is there said to be. The title *vir consularis* probably came from a misinterpretation of the letters *V.C.*—i.e. *vir clarissimus*—or it may have been a mistake arising from a misunderstanding of lines 157 sq., where, as is shown in the note on the passage, the duties referred to belonged, in our poet's time, not to the Consul, but to the City Prefect. The other erroneous statements of office are probably due to wrong interpretations of various passages in the poem itself. The title *tribunus militum* was an error arising from lines 561 sq., where, though he speaks of his comradeship with a certain Tribune, it does not necessarily follow that he was himself a Tribune. In fact, he expressly says that it was while he himself was *magister officiorum* that their comradeship existed (see lines 563 sq.). The title *praefectus praetorii* was probably given on account of line 564, where the words *armigeras excubias* were supposed to refer to the functions of that officer. But Constantine had made the office of *praefectus praetorii* a purely civil one. The dedication of the poem to *Venerius Rufius* is due to a misunderstanding of the corrupt text of line 421, where the reference is to Rufius Volusianus, not to Venerius Rufius. Indeed, the opening words of the poem are expressly addressed to an impersonal "*lector*," which term would hardly have been chosen if the poem were dedicated to a special individual.

Wernsdorf[1] calls attention to the curious mistake of Onuphrius Panvinius who thinks that, while Book I. describes Rutilius' journey from Rome to Gaul, Book II. describes his return journey from Gaul to Rome.

Rutilius belonged to one of those noble and rich Gallo-Roman families to which the Roman Emperors had since the time of Claudius opened the way to public honours and a public career. He was born towards the end of the fourth century A.D. in Transalpine Gaul,[2] but in what town is uncertain. Wernsdorf quotes, apparently with approval, the theory of the Monachi Benedictini Mauriani[3] that his native town was Pictavium, now Poitiers. In support of this view it is pointed out that, in I. 208, Rutilius applies the words *spem et decus generis mei* to Palladius (who, Wernsdorf thinks, was a native of Poitiers), and so implies that Palladius was a close connexion and probably a fellow-citizen of his. It is, however, by no means certain that Palladius belonged to Poitiers.[4] In any case the argument seems a very slight one, and a stronger argument in favour of Toulouse might be drawn from I. 493 sq., where Rutilius dwells on his intimate friendship with Victorinus, a native of Toulouse, in words that seem to imply they had a common city. The word *patria* (line 510), it is true, does not necessarily or even naturally imply that they came from the same city, but would be quite satisfied

[1] Page 21.

[2] That he was a native of Gaul appears from I. 20.

[3] Historia Litteraria Galliarum, vol. ii., page 70.

[4] See Mathis, page 10.

by their both coming from Gaul. Probably, however, as Zumpt says, Toulouse really has the best claim to be considered the native city of Rutilius, as that part of Gaul had especially suffered from the recent raids of the Goths, and so accords with the description of the state of his country that Rutilius gives in I. 20-34.

There is no weight in the objection that, as in line I. 496 Victorinus is said to have been obliged to leave Gaul and settle in Tuscany on account of the capture of Toulouse, Rutilius could not have safely returned to that city; for in 416, the year of Rutilius' journey, Walia, King of the Goths, had made peace with the Emperor Honorius, and had gone off to fight the foes of the Empire in Spain; so that part of Gaul was free from the Visigoths for some three years until, probably in 419, settlements in Aquitania Secunda, in part of Novempopulonia and in the northern part of Gallia Narbonensis were given to the Visigoths, and Toulouse was made the capital of their kingdom. At the time of our poet's journey, therefore, both Victorinus and Rutilius might probably have returned to Toulouse without hindrance.

While still quite young Rutilius went to Italy with his father, Lachanius,[1] who held public office at Pisa,[2] and with the title of *consularis*—which title

[1] That Lachanius was the father of Rutilius seems a fair inference from line 595, where the Lachanius mentioned seems certainly to be the person referred to in the preceding lines 575–594, that is, Rutilius' father.

[2] Itasius Lemniacus, however, remarks that the fact of a statue being erected to him at Pisa does not prove that he regularly lived at that city. Florence was the capital.

had taken the place of the earlier *corrector*—acted as governor of Tuscany.

Lachanius seems to have won the respect and love of those under his control, and the people of Pisa erected in his honour in their Forum a statue with an inscription expressed in such terms of eulogy and regard as to move Rutilius to tears when he read it on his visit to Pisa. Nor was it at Pisa alone, but also throughout Tuscany, that Rutilius found tokens of the veneration in which his father was held.[1]

Neither the place nor the date of Lachanius' death is known to us; but it must have occurred a good while before the date of Rutilius' journey, as his words in line I. 590, describing his visit to Pisa, imply that it was only the aged who had personal memories of his father. From the words of Rutilius' affectionate tribute to his father,[2] it may be gathered that the latter, besides being *consularis Tusciae*,[3] had also held the offices of *comes sacrarum largitionum* of the Empire of the West, of *quaestor*[4] and of *praefectus urbis*.

Professor Vessereau inclines to identify Lachanius with a Claudius who was *comes largitionum* between 375 and 378, and a Claudius who was *praefectus urbis* in

[1] See I. 593 sq.

[2] I. 579 sq.

[3] Perhaps in 389, for he is probably identical with the Claudius mentioned in the Codex Theod. 2, 4 and 5, as *consularis Tusciae et Umbriae* for that year.

[4] The office referred to is that of *quaestor principis*, whose duty it was to read in the Senate such written communications as the Emperor thought fit to make to that body, and to reduce the Emperor's orders to legal form. See Zumpt, Observ., page 41.

374.[1] Zumpt, holding that Lachanius was the Claudius who was *consularis Tusciae* in 389, refuses to accept this view, as it would imply that Lachanius held the inferior position of *consularis Tusciae* after having been *praefectus urbis*. Professor Vessereau, however, does not think the identity of Lachanius with the Claudius of 389 sufficiently established. Some have identified Lachanius with the Claudius *praefectus urbis*, to whom certain laws,[2] dated from Constantinople in 396, are addressed; and think that Rutilius alludes to the Prefecture of Constantinople. Professor Vessereau, however, points out that the relations of East and West after 395 make this view improbable.

Following in his father's footsteps, Rutilius devoted himself to a public career, and apparently with a like success in gaining popularity.[3] He attained to the highest dignities, with the exception of the Consulate; and we may conclude that he devoted much attention to the study of eloquence and of law, which were indispensable for the career he had adopted. His poem shows sufficiently that he had a good acquaintance with Latin and Greek literature; and that he devoted some attention to philosophy appears probable from the passages in his poem[4] where he expresses certain views of the Stoics with regard to the Supreme Being.

Under the Emperor Honorius he held the important and honourable offices of *magister officiorum*[5] and *praefectus urbis*.[6] That his tenure of the former office was

[1] Cod. Just. 11, 47, 2.
[2] Cod. Theod. 6, 26, 8.
[3] I. 591 sq.
[4] I. 17, II. 31.
[5] I. 563.
[6] I. 157–160, and 427.

in 412 A.D. may be inferred from the Codex Theodosianus, as he may be identified with the *Namatius magister officiorum* mentioned there, under the date a.d. VII. Id. Dec. 412.[1] The date when he was *praefectus urbis* may be fixed from allusions in the poem; for Albinus, his immediate successor,[2] was *praefectus urbis* already in a.d. XV. Kal. Oct. 414,[3] and Eutychianus, his predecessor,[4] was still *praefectus* in Jan. 414; so Rutilius must have held office between Eutychianus and Albinus, and only for about eight months—a circumstance that need not cause surprise, as the Prefect of the City could be changed several times in a year, at the Emperor's pleasure.[5] This short tenure of office makes it more intelligible how he was able to boast that he had not been obliged to draw the sword of justice entrusted to his hands. It is true he attributes this to the good spirit of the people, not to the tact of the chief magistrate; but it is hardly probable that in so great a city as Rome, and under so weak and contemptible an Emperor as Honorius, he could have held office for any considerable length of time without troubles arising that would call for vigorous repression, though, no doubt, the consideration and respect with which he treated the senators[6] may have done much to facilitate his task of preserving order.

The statement made by some that he attained to the Consulate is not to be accepted, as his name does not appear in the list of Consuls we have, reaching down to 565 A.D.

[1] See above, page 14.
[2] I. 467 and 474.
[3] Cod. Theod. 13, 5, 5.
[4] Ib. 8, 8, 11.
[5] See Mathis, page 12.
[6] I. 158.

Wernsdorf concludes that of all the offices and titles attributed to Rutilius in the title of the poem in the ancient editions, the only ones that can be properly assigned to him are *magister officiorum* and *praefectus urbis*.

Two years after his Prefectship he left Rome, in September, 416, as has been mentioned above.[1] Various reasons have been assigned for his departure. The poet himself says[2] it was due to the state of things in Gaul, which was such as to require his presence. The removal of Ataulfus and his Goths from Gaul into Spain, mentioned above,[3] and the friendly attitude of Walia, who continued in Spain fighting as the Emperor's lieutenant, probably made it possible for Rutilius to return to Gaul, and look after his property there; and such is the cause of his return that the poet seems to suggest.

Many, however, have thought there was some further and more imperative reason for his leaving Rome; and this view derives support from the earnestness of his pathetic farewell to Rome, which seems to imply an unwilling departure from the city he loved so well, and despair of ever returning to it. Moreover, the circumstance of his remaining inactive for fifteen days at the mouth of the Tiber, while waiting for a change of moon and a favourable breeze, without relieving the monotony of the delay by returning that short distance to enjoy the *ludi Circenses* that were being celebrated at Rome at the time, and in which he seems to have been so much interested, makes it appear likely there was a strong reason requiring him

[1] See page 9. [2] I. 19 sq. [3] See page 6.

to absent himself from the city. Such a reason Zumpt finds in the Imperial decree of 415,[1] which excluded Pagans from public careers. The force of this explanation, however, is much weakened when we consider that, though the decree was passed in 415, Rutilius did not start on his journey till September, 416. Moreover, the decree seems not to have had much effect; for Rufius Volusianus was made Prefect just after Rutilius' departure,[2] and he also was probably a Pagan, if one may judge from the warm affection which Rutilius expresses for him, and which he would hardly have extended to one who was not of the old faith.

Others again have thought that Rutilius' position at Rome may have become untenable on account of the charges he brought against Stilicho, the general of Honorius, of having betrayed the Empire, of having allowed Alaric to enter Italy, and of having burned the Sibylline Oracles. This theory, of course, cannot refer to the actual words used in II. 41 sq., as they were not written until Rutilius had already taken his departure; but no doubt he may have published the same charges in some other manner. The conjecture, however, in any case, cannot count for much, as Stilicho had been put to death by the Emperor Honorius in 408, some eight years before Rutilius' departure from Rome, and charges that showed Stilicho in an invidious light would tend to justify Honorius in putting him to death, and so would strengthen and not weaken Rutilius' standing in the Emperor's favour.

On the whole, we may perhaps conclude that

[1] Cod. Theod. 16, 10, 21. [2] See lines 415 sq.

Rutilius had good reasons not only for going to Gaul, but also for leaving Rome. His reasons for leaving Rome would naturally be connected with his relations to the Government and to the state of feeling prevailing in the city at the time. Now one of the most striking features in his poem is the bitterness with which he inveighs against Christians, or at least against Christian monks, and against the adherents of Hebraism, which form of religion he probably did not distinguish very clearly from Christianity. He was a Pagan, and he probably believed, as did most Pagans of the period, that the decadence of Rome and the Empire was due to the advance of Christianity. It is possible that, as Prefect of the City, he may have taken active measures against the obnoxious faith; and such possible acts of persecution may have resulted in making his position at Rome unpleasant or perhaps untenable, as the new religion was making its way and gaining influence both in the imperial court and in society at large. With the new state of feeling the Emperor was largely identified, and hence we can understand why the poem contains no reference to Honorius, while the condition of the Empire, of Italy, and of Rome itself is painted in the most gloomy colours. Some have even thought that the attack on Stilicho, Honorius' father-in-law, was intended as a reflection on Honorius himself; this, however, seems doubtful, as not only was the death of Stilicho an event of some eight years' standing, but the statement of his demerits would rather, as already pointed out, furnish a justification to the Emperor for having caused his death.

It is commonly supposed that Rutilius' reason for returning to Gaul was to look after his family property in that region. It may, however, be doubted whether, after his father's and his own prolonged absence, he really had any property in the country. It may perhaps be conjectured that, in order to remove him from Rome, he was sent to Gaul in some official capacity, and this theory seems quite reconcilable with the words in which he describes the purpose of his return to Gaul. Moreover, the attentions paid to him and the courtesy with which he was received at the various stages of his journey would quite accord with his being in the enjoyment of some recognized status.

Wernsdorf (pages 22 sq.) mentions a number of vain speculations as to the subsequent fortunes of Rutilius —that he died on his journey, and therefore left his work incomplete; that he reached Gaul and held the office of *corrector Provinciae*; that he became a Christian; that he wrote his poem, not on the journey, but at his leisure when residing in Gaul. As these theories seem to be little more than matters of conjecture, it is hardly worth while to discuss them in detail.

Rutilius' Friends.

Of Rutilius' friends, as of Rutilius himself and of his father Lachanius, little or nothing is known with certainty, except what may be learned from the poem itself. There have not, indeed, been wanting various attempts to supply details about the persons he mentions. The inconclusiveness, however, of most of

CLOUDS ON MONTE D'ORO, CORSICA.

Photo by Rev. T. T. Norgate, F.R.G.S.

these speculations makes them not very interesting. A pretty full discussion of them may be found in Zumpt's Observationes, in Wernsdorf's Poetae Latini Minores, in the short notes appended to Mathis' edition, in the introduction to the work of Itasius Lemniacus, and in Professor Vessereau's edition. To identify persons who in any case are little more than names, is a work of curiosity rather than of importance; but fortunately, without going beyond the poem itself, we may learn enough about Rutilius' associates to throw considerable and important light on his personality. The allusions in the poem supply ample evidence that Rutilius had not only the power of winning and keeping warm friends, but that those friends were for the most part men of culture and education, and men who belonged to a good social class, as Rutilius himself and his father did.

The first person he names is Rufius, line 168, who was one of the party of friends that saw Rutilius off when he left Rome, and escorted him a short way on his journey. The parting was a sorrowful one; and Rufius still lingered with Rutilius after the rest of the party had returned to Rome. His full name was Ceionius Rufius (Venerius) Volusianus, and he is again referred to in lines 421 sq. He was the son of Ceionius Rufius Albinus,[1] Prefect of the City in 390; grandson of C. Ceionius Rufius Albinus Volusianus, Prefect of the City in 365, and Caecinia Lolliana; great-grandson of Ceionius Rufius Albinus, Consul in 335; great-great-grandson of C. Ceionius Rufius

[1] Albinus, the father of Rufius, is not to be confounded with the Albinus mentioned in line 466.

Volusianus, Prefect of the City in 310 and Consul in 311 and 314. He therefore came of a most distinguished stock; and their honours, moreover, were not confined to the fourth century A.D., for, as Rutilius says, they traced their ancestry to the Volusus mentioned by Vergil, A. 11, 463 sq. *Tu, Voluse, armari Volscorum edice maniplis: Duc, ait, et Rutulos.*

Rufius, as we learn from Rutilius, was in early youth (*puer*) Proconsul of the province of Africa, of which Carthage was the capital;[1] then, while still young (*primaevus*—i.e., a little over twenty, according to Zumpt), Imperial Quaestor;[2] and after Rutilius' departure[3] Prefect of the City. Rutilius' anticipation[4] that he would attain the Consulship does not seem to have been fulfilled.

The name Venerius, which is given him in the title of B, is probably due to a false reading in line 421. Zumpt objects to the name, on the ground of its not occurring elsewhere in connexion with the family.

Palladius, line 208, and his father, Exuperantius, line 213, are the next names we meet. Of Palladius we learn from the poem that he was a relative of Rutilius,[5] and was held by him in high regard, and that in 416 he was studying law at Rome, and therefore probably not more than twenty-five years old.[6] We know nothing further about him, unless, indeed, he is to be identified, as Zumpt suggests, with the

[1] Line 173. [2] Line 171. [3] Lines 415 sq. [4] Line 175.

[5] Professor Vessereau conjectures that Palladius may have been a nephew and Exuperantius a brother-in-law of Rutilius.

[6] See Cod. Just. 10, 49, 1.

Palladius mentioned as Praetorian Prefect under Majorian in the year 458.[1]

It is probably an error to identify him, as Barth, Burmann, and Wernsdorf have done, with the Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus who wrote a kind of Farmers' Calendar entitled De Re Rustica; for the Count Bartolommeo Borghesi has pointed out[2] that Pasiphilus, the person to whom, in all probability, Palladius dedicates his 14th book, was Prefect of the City in 355; and the dates would, therefore, not agree.

Professor Vessereau, however, thinks that Borghesi has not succeeded in identifying the Pasiphilus referred to, and that consequently his argument against Palladius being the author of the De Re Rustica falls to the ground. Professor Vessereau holds that the Palladius of our text may not only be the Praetorian Prefect of Majorian, but also the author of the book on agriculture. He thinks that the latter work may have been written by Palladius when he was an old man, and that the Pasiphilus to whom it was dedicated was some unknown friend of the author.

About Exuperantius, again, there has been much discussion, but with little result. A Roman Decurion of this name is mentioned under the date 404, in Cod. Theod. 14, 1, 4; under the same name a Praetorian Prefect for Gaul is mentioned by Prosper Aquitanus as having met his death in 424, in a military sedition at Arles; and we find the name again used of an epitomiser of the histories of Sallust and of the author

[1] See Novell. Theod. Cod. 4, 4.

[2] See the Transactions of the Turin Academy, vol. 38, 1835, quoted in Smith's Dictionary of Biography.

of an account of the civil wars of Marius, Lepidus, and Sertorius. Whether these references are to the same person, and that person the Exuperantius of line 213; or whether the persons named are distinct, and the Exuperantius of our text one or other of them, is a matter discussed at considerable length by Zumpt, Itasius Lemniacus, Wernsdorf, and Mathis; but the evidence does not seem to justify a definite conclusion; and the same remark holds good of the view to which Zumpt and Itasius Lemniacus seem to incline—namely, that the person meant is the Exuperantius whom St. Jerome, in his 99th Letter, exhorts to give up his military career, and, with his brother Quintilian, devote himself altogether to the Christian life, and join St. Jerome at Bethlehem; for the language of the letter seems to imply it was addressed to one who was already a Christian, and not a Pagan, as it is reasonable to suppose the Exuperantius of our poet was. We cannot, then, claim to know with certainty more about Exuperantius than Rutilius tells, and that is to the effect that he had won great credit by his judicious and pacific administration of the province of Armorica, in Gaul. He was, doubtless, a man of influence, as most of Rutilius' friends seem to have been.

Professor Vessereau, however, thinks there is no objection to identifying the Exuperantius of our poem with the Decurion of 404, the Prefect of 424, and the epitomiser of Sallust. Of his historical work, with which Rutilius would doubtless be familiar, Professor Vessereau thinks there is a reminiscence in the reflections on the history of the five Lepidi, in which

Rutilius indulged when he was in the neighbourhood of Cosa.[1]

It will be convenient to mention here the further use that has been made of the above-mentioned letter of St. Jerome, to throw light on another passage of our poem, lines 517 sq. It has been conjectured that Quintilian, the brother of Exuperantius, may possibly be the *noster juvenis* mentioned in that passage as having condemned himself to a living tomb, by shutting himself up as a recluse in the island of Gorgon. The use of *noster* naturally suggests that the *juvenis* in question was a family connexion of Rutilius, as the passage 211 sq. shows that Exuperantius also was. The theory, however, falls to the ground if, as has been suggested above, the Exuperantius of St. Jerome and the Exuperantius of Rutilius are not the same. Schenkl is doubtless right in saying we know nothing of the person referred to as *noster juvenis* in line 519, save what may be gathered from Rutilius' words.

Fl. Valerius Messalla, line 268,[2] was Praetorian Prefect in 396, and is often mentioned in the Code of Theodosius. He traced his family, as stated in lines 271 sq., to P. Valerius Publicola, the colleague of L. Junius Brutus. He was a friend of Symmachus, who addresses several letters to him,[3] and who, in letters 80 and 90 of Book 7, refers to his being Prefect, and commends several persons to his good offices. The temple-inscription mentioned by Rutilius,

[1] See I. 295 sq.

[2] This full form of the name is given by Wernsdorf, and accepted by Itasius Lemniacus; but Zumpt doubts the authority for it.

[3] See Book 7, 81–92.

lines 267 sq., is all we know of his poetical work, and probably forms his sole title to be classed as a poet. Symmachus makes no mention of his possessing poetic skill, though he often praises his eloquence. The verses inscribed on the temple were probably only a casual effusion, and it is to be noted that Rutilius lays the chief stress on his mental and oratorical qualities. The words of Sidonius Apollinaris are to a similar effect. See Carm. 9, 302, *Messallam ingenii satis profundi.*

The Albinus, line 466, whose hospitality Rutilius enjoyed at his villa near Vada, and who succeeded Rutilius as Prefect of the City in 414,[1] was probably Caecina Decius Acinatius Albinus, who seems to have been the son of Caecina Decius Albinus, Prefect of the City in 402, and grandson of Caecina Albinus, the friend of Symmachus, whom Macrobius represents as taking part in the discussion in his Saturnalia, 1, 12. This Caecina Decius Acinatius Albinus probably enjoyed the honour of being Prefect of Rome a second time in 426. He was Praetorian Prefect of Italy in 443 and again in 447. He became Consul in 444, and two or three years later received the patrician dignity. He is mentioned by Olympiodorus as having, while Prefect of the City, corresponded with the Emperor about the deficiency of the bread-supply allowed to the populace. He was sent in 439 by Valentinian III for the conduct of the war with the Goths in Gaul, on which occasion he quarrelled with Aetius.[2]

Of Victorinus, line 493, nothing is known save

[1] See Cod. Theod. 13, 5, 38.

[2] See Zumpt, Observ., page 72; Itasius Lemniacus, page 172.

what we learn from Rutilius. He was a native of Toulouse, which town he was obliged to leave on its capture by Ataulfus, King of the Visigoths, towards the end of 413. At the time of Rutilius' journey, and indeed two years before, in 414, the Goths had betaken themselves to Spain, and Victorinus might therefore, perhaps, have returned to his country had he wished. He did not, however, do so, but continued to live in Etruria. It appears from lines 499–501 that he had been Vicarius for the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul, whose authority included Britain extending to the ocean and Ultima Thule, and in those distant regions he won respect and regard. He enjoyed the honorary title of Comes Illustris, but apparently did not frequent the Court, continuing to lead a country life, to which he was much attached. Rutilius speaks of him in terms of the most cordial friendship.

About Protadius, line 542, the eminent Gaul, whom Rutilius speaks of in such high terms, we learn some details from the letters addressed to him by Q. Aurelius Symmachus, who was on friendly terms with him and his brothers Florentinus and Minervius. His father, Tiberius Victor Minervius, was a rhetor at Constantinople and Rome, as well as in his native place Bordeaux. He is compared to Quintilian by Ausonius in his Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium: *Primus Burdigalae columen dicere, Minervi, Alter rhetoricae Quinctiliane togae, Illustres quondam quo praeceptore fuerunt Constantinopolis, Roma, dehinc patria.*

From the letters of Symmachus, we learn that Protadius came from Treves, but was much in Italy.

We know from line 550 that he was Prefect of Rome, an office on which apparently Symmachus, Ep. 4, 23, congratulates him. The date of his holding this office is uncertain; but it was probably before the end of the fourth century, as his younger brother Florentinus held the office from 395 to 398. He gave considerable attention to literature, and busied himself with a history of Gaul. He returned from Italy to his native land, but was ultimately, owing to the attacks made by the Franks, obliged to leave Treves in 413, and returning to Italy he settled on some property he had in Umbria,[1] where he died at an advanced age. It has been conjectured that the name Umbria here is used not in the ordinary sense, but of the country near the river Umbro mentioned in line 337. Zumpt, however, suggests that Protadius may have had property in Umbria, but have passed the winter at Pisa, where Rutilius seems to have found him. Umbria may also be used in a wide sense to include the province of Tuscia et Umbria. Symmachus, Epist. 4, 30 and 32, speaks of his virtues in high terms, just as Rutilius does.

Of Decius and his father, Lucillus, line 599, nothing is known save what Rutilius tells. Decius was Consularis Tusciae et Umbriae in 416. Lucillus as a writer of satire is ranked by Rutilius with Juvenal and Turnus, and his censorship of corruption seems not to have been confined to words, for Rutilius says that, as Comes Sacrarum Largitionum, he exercised a strict restraint on those who sought to practise peculation. It has been conjectured that he may be

[1] See line 551.

the Lucillus to whom Symmachus' Letter, 8, 21, is addressed.

Rutilius' Relations with Stilicho.

Of the three persons who are most prominent in the first fifteen years of the fifth century—Honorius the Roman Emperor, Alaric the King of the Visigoths, and Stilicho the Vandal general of the Roman army—Stilicho alone is mentioned by name in our poem. In Book II., lines 41–60, Rutilius attacks him in the most bitter manner, accusing him of treachery to the Empire, of betraying Rome to the barbarians, and of burning the Sibylline Books. The prose writers Zosimus and Orosius adopt a similar tone. Zosimus[1] accuses him in common with Rufinus —who, as minister for Arcadius, held in the East a position similar to that enjoyed by Stilicho in the West—of being accessible to bribes and of perverting justice. Orosius[2] accuses him of seeking to make his son Eucherius Emperor, of making a secret compact with Alaric to the detriment of the Roman state, and of bringing into the Roman domain the Alans, Suevi, Vandals, and Burgundians.

That Stilicho had formed the plan of creating his son Eucherius Emperor, Professor Bury[3] thinks probable; and he suggests that the Balkan peninsula was designed to be the dominion over which Eucherius should hold sway. He supposes him to have made a

[1] 5, 1; see Hodgkin, vol. i., part ii., page 647.

[2] Hist. 7, 38. Hodgkin, l. c., page 758.

[3] History of the Later Roman Empire, vol. i., page 68.

secret agreement to secure Alaric's assistance for the execution of this scheme, which the preponderance of Gothic power in Illyricum and Thrace would facilitate; and in the assumption of such an agreement he finds an explanation of Stilicho's conduct in allowing Alaric to go free when he lay at his mercy at Pholoe, on the confines of Elis and Arcadia, in 396 A.D.

Stilicho, however, is not without his champions, both ancient and modern. Claudian draws a flattering portrait of him, laying special stress on his justice and his freedom from avarice.[1] His poems against Rufinus, against Eutropius, and on the Gothic War are a glorification of Stilicho's virtues.[2] Dr. Hodgkin, too, takes a much more favourable view of him than Professor Bury does; and Gibbon decidedly sums up in his favour.

The fact is that of Stilicho's ability as a general and a civil administrator, and of his courage as a soldier, there is no doubt. It is as to the integrity of his conduct and the purity of his motives there is dispute. That he was as incorruptible and upright as Claudian asserts we may well doubt, without, however, fully accepting Zosimus' allegations as to his venal conduct and perversion of justice. That he was tenacious of power, and exercised a masterful influence over the weak and incapable Honorius, is doubtless true; the well-being, and indeed the existence, of the State required that some such control should be exercised over the helpless puppet, who was more

[1] Hodgkin, l. c., page 648, who quotes In Cons. Stil. 2, 6–49 and 100–124.

[2] Bury, l. c., page 67.

interested in his poultry-yard than in his Imperial duties; but it does not necessarily follow that Stilicho was seeking sovereignty for his son. If he was ready to make terms with Alaric rather than press him to extremity, this may very well have been the result, not of a corrupt purpose, but of cautious foresight and a just appreciation of his own resources compared with those of his antagonist.

Such an explanation of Stilicho's policy may hold good, not only for the occasion at Pholoe already referred to, but also for the fact of his making a compact with Alaric, and allowing him to withdraw to his Illyric provinces after the Battle of Pollentia; for, notwithstanding the high-flown language of Claudian,[1] it is very doubtful whether the battle was a brilliant Roman victory. Cassiodorus and Jordanes, indeed, go so far as to say that the Gothic hosts put the Romans to flight; and the words of Prosper in speaking of the battle are, *vehementer utriusque partis clade pugnatum est.* At any rate the Battle of Pollentia seems to have been no crushing defeat for the Goths; and the general who facilitated their retreat probably did what was wisest for the Roman cause.

On the whole, we may say, with Gibbon, that Stilicho's services are great and manifest, his alleged crimes are obscure and improbable. We must allow, too, for the *odium theologicum* which colours much of what was said against him, for he was so unfortunate as to give offence to both the old religion and the new. The Pagans could not forgive the man who burned the Sibylline Books, who stripped the massive gold

[1] De Bell. Get. 635.

plates from the doors of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and whose wife appropriated a costly necklace that hung round the neck of the goddess in the temple of Rhea, the Great Mother of the Gods. The Christians, on the other hand, viewed him with suspicion, as he was supposed to entertain the design of securing sovereign power for his son Eucherius, who was at heart a Pagan, and who, it was thought, was likely to restore the ancient idolatry. The clergy, also, were displeased with Honorius for marrying Thermantia, the sister of his deceased wife Maria, and, no doubt, extended their displeasure to the father-in-law, who, though perhaps reluctantly, gave his consent to the successive marriages.

It has been conjectured that the bitterness of feeling against Stilicho, which Rutilius shows in his lines II. 41 sq., written some eight years after the fall and death of that general, was due to special personal grounds. In support of this view it has been suggested that Rutilius' father had been City Prefect at Constantinople as well as at Rome, and in that position may have had relations with Rufinus, Stilicho's old enemy, who was a Gaul, like Rutilius and his father. This theory, however, which depends on the identification of the Claudius who was *Consularis Tusciae* in 389[1] with the Claudius who was City Prefect at Constantinople, 375 to 378,[2] is little more than a matter of conjecture;[3] and the enmity may be sufficiently

[1] Cod. Theod. 2, 4, 5.

[2] Cod. Theod. 6, 28, 8 and 15, 3, 1.

[3] For a discussion of the question, see Zumpt, Observ., page 43. See also Itasius Lemniacus, page 6, and Mathis, page 11, note 5.

explained, not only on the religious grounds already mentioned, but also because Stilicho was supposed to have made terms with Alaric, the devastating force of whose invasions was vividly present to Rutilius' mind, as is frequently apparent in the course of the poem. In fact, Rutilius probably merely gives expression to the opinion of a considerable number of persons who thought they represented the dignity of the Roman Empire, and failed to recognize the changed condition of affairs which made it necessary to come to terms alike with the barbarians and with the new religion.

Rutilius in relation to Christianity and Paganism.

A full discussion of the relations of Christianity and Paganism at the beginning of the fifth century would be foreign to the purpose of this work, and in any case would be superfluous, as Professor Bury's interesting chapters[1] on the subject are easily accessible. It is, however, within our province to notice how the new religion was regarded by our author, who was an adherent of the old faith.

Ammianus Marcellinus, who is our chief and almost only authority for the social life of Rome at the end of the fourth century, gives a vivid if perhaps overcoloured picture of the degraded type of the upper-class Romans of the time, of their life of luxury and self-indulgence, of their lack of learning, culture, and taste, of their devotion to gambling, superstition, and legacy-hunting, and of their want of a sense of moral proportion. The lower classes

[1] History of the Later Roman Empire, vol. i., chaps. 1 and 2.

he describes as no less sunk in debauchery so far as their means would admit. We know that his account is one-sided, for, at the same time, there existed at Rome a Christian aristocracy which he perhaps intentionally ignores. During the very time he describes, and at the very time of Rutilius' journey, the convent of Marcella on the Aventine was a centre of devotion and religious self-sacrifice for many of the better classes, a place from which the influence of St. Jerome was felt before he left Rome for Bethlehem. The names of Marcella, Fabiola, and Furia are associated with all that is good and pure.

Besides these two very different sides of social life, there must have been another side represented by such persons as Rutilius and his friends, men who, though attached to the old Pagan form of religion, were worthy and useful citizens, and educated and refined gentlemen. That such was the case with Rutilius is abundantly evident from his poem; and not only may we reasonably suppose that the intimate and beloved friends or relatives to whom he refers were of the same type, but we see from what Rutilius says of them that they actually were so. Not only was his father Lachanius a loved and respected official, but his friends whom he names seem to have been no less worthy of regard. Rutilius may be taken as an exponent of the views held by such men as these; and a special interest therefore attaches to the strong and definite opinions he expresses about Christianity, at a time when many well-known names appear among the champions of the old religion as well as of the new, when Symmachus, Claudian, Libanius claim our

attention, no less than St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Martin of Tours, St. John Chrysostom, Prudentius.

What information, then, may be derived from our poet as to the influence of Christianity at the beginning of the fifth century, and the way it was regarded by the men of the better classes who still adhered to Paganism?

In three passages, at any rate, Rutilius expresses his views pretty clearly, two occurring in the First Book and one in the Second. It is well known that the adherents of Paganism were wont to connect the troubles of the Empire and its gradual disintegration with the growth of the new religion, and to attribute their sufferings in some degree at any rate to the vengeance of their offended deities. Such a sentiment doubtless helped to add acerbity to our poet's denunciation of Stilicho in II. 41–60, where he accuses him not only of treachery to the Empire and of exposing his country to the attacks of the barbarians, but also of burning the Sibylline Books, that pledge of the Empire's ancient religion, and so committing a crime as heinously unnatural as that of Althaea, when she burned the firebrand on the existence of which her son Meleager's life depended. His attitude towards the new religion is also shown in I. 440–452, where the monks of Capraria are denounced. Their asceticism stirs his wrath. He censures their inhuman desire for solitude, and ridicules their self-imposed privations. Compare also, on the subject of asceticism, lines 523, 4. In I. 380–398, again, though it is a Jew, and the Jewish customs of circumcision

and abstinence from the use of pork, that are specifically attacked, his caustic allusions to the observance of the Sabbath and to the story of the Creation are equally applicable to the Christian religion, and, as Professor Dill remarks,[1] when in line 398 he speaks of 'the conquered race that crushes its conquerors,' there can be little doubt that he has in mind the religion which was crushing out his own. It is indeed probable, as has been already said, that Rutilius did not very clearly distinguish between Christianity and Judaism.

How high feeling ran at this time between Pagans and Christians is sufficiently illustrated by the well-known contemporary events at Alexandria, for the murder of Hypatia took place in 415, the year before Rutilius started on his journey. It has also been suggested above (page 25) that Rutilius' Pagan sentiments may have contributed to his apparently enforced departure from Rome. However, this view of the unfavourable position of Pagans must not be pressed too far; for, in spite of an imperial decree condemning the ancient cult, Rutilius, though of pronounced Pagan opinions, held the high office of City Prefect, and was succeeded in that office by an intimate friend of his, who presumably held similar theological tenets. It is quite possible that, though the court party were in favour of the new religion, popular opinion would not yet allow an active persecution of the old.

It is to be noted that Professor Vessereau takes a very different view of Rutilius' attitude towards Christianity from that stated above. He holds that

[1] l. c., page 40.

ISLAND OF CAPRARIA.

Photo by Rev. T. T. Norgate, F.R.G.S.

in the time of Rutilius it was impossible that Christianity and Judaism should have been confounded together, as was probably often the case at an earlier period. He further holds that Rutilius' attitude towards Christianity was one of indifference, and that in lines 440–452 he attacks only monasticism and not Christianity, and in lines 380–398 only Judaism, and not the beliefs or the influence of the Christian religion. Whether this view or that advocated above is the correct one is perhaps open to question, as the allusions to the subject by our author are brief and casual. It may, however, be noted that the more popular view seems to be that adopted by Professor Dill, who calls Rutilius 'a pagan of the pagans,' and directs attention to the tone of confidence in the destiny of Rome and in the loftiness of her mission that permeates the poem.

Places Referred to in the Poem.

It will be seen that the extant portion of Rutilius' poem describes his journey from the mouth of the Tiber to Luna, on the left bank of the Macra, about four miles from the coast, or rather, probably, to the Lunae Portus, on the Gulf of Spezia, at the mouth of the river—that is to say, the whole length of the ancient Etruria, corresponding to the modern divisions known as the States of the Church and Tuscany. The distance northward from the Arno to the Macra is comparatively small; and so the greater part of this district is practically bounded on the land side by the Tiber and the Arno, as both those rivers rise in the main chain of the Apennines, within a short distance

of one another, the Tiber flowing south and west from Monte Fumajolo, that is situated not far from the source of the Arno, the little river that takes its rise on Monte Falterona,[1] and flows north and west.

Parallel to the coast-line of these districts, and not far inland from it, ran the Via Aurelia, which was the great coast road from Rome to Transalpine Gaul. The whole of this coast-land, now known as the Maremma, is at the present day haunted by malaria, an evil referred to by Dante on each of the two occasions when he names the Maremma in the Divine Comedy. The force of the disease has, it is true, been greatly increased in later times, owing to the depopulation of the region; but the evil reputation of the district was already well known at an early period, and it is remarkable that so little allusion is made to it in our poem. The only direct reference to it is, perhaps, in I. 281, where the poet speaks of Graviscae suffering from the stench of the marsh in summer. The flooding of the low lands, however, is referred to in I. 37 sq.; and the inconvenience of the malaria was, perhaps, less felt on the sea-journey than it would have been on the land-route. The time of the voyage also, it must be remembered, was from the close of September to November, when the force of the fever is wont to abate.

This prevalence of malaria in the Maremma is due to the want of a sufficient fall in the low lands along the coast; so that the streams, as they approach the sea, stagnate into a succession of marshes of inter-

[1] Dante, Purg., 14, 17 *Per mezza Toscana si spazia Un fiumicel, che nasce in Falterona.*

mingled fresh and salt water—e.g., the marshes of Campo Salino and Maccarese, near the ancient Fregenae on the Arrone, which issues from the Lago di Bracciano and enters the sea near this point. From this to Pescia, though the climate continues for the most part, except at Civita Vecchia and its immediate neighbourhood, to be unhealthy, there are no great marshes. At Pescia the marshes begin again. The largest are those of Burano and Bassa; the lake of Orbetello, which is really an unhealthy lagune; the marshes of Talamone, at the mouth of the Albegna and of the Osa; the swamp of Albarese, near the Ombrone; the lake of Castiglione della Pescaja, which surpasses all the rest in extent; the marshes of Pian di Rocca, Gualdo Scarlino, Piombino, Rimigliano, and the smaller ones near the mouth of the Cecina, where the Maremma proper ends. Beyond Leghorn again to the Macra are more marshes. The whole of this region is described in detail by Itasius Lemniacus, in his very interesting note on lines I. 39 sq.

Of the many streams that enter the sea along the coast-line that Rutilius passed on his voyage, he mentions by name, besides the Tiber and the Arno, the Munio (line 279), the Umbro (line 337), and the Ausur (line 556). The Munio, or Minio, now the Mignone, takes its rise on the high ground to the west of the Lago di Bracciano, and falls into the sea between Civita Vecchia and the mouth of the river Marta, near a watch-tower, Torre Bertaldo, known also as Sant' Agostino, from a legend that here an angel dispelled St. Augustine's doubts respecting the Trinity. The Umbro, now the Ombrone, takes its

rise in the rocky ground above the village of St. Gusmè, north-east from Siena, on the southern slopes of the hills that separate the famous Chianti wine-district from the valley of the Arbia. In Pliny's time the lower part of its course was navigable: see Nat. Hist. 3, 51 *Umbro navigiorum capax.* The Ausur is usually identified with the modern Serchio. Itasius Lemniacus (page 182), however, says that towards the end of the sixteenth century Raffaello Roncioni, and in the following century Thomas Dempster, maintained that the stream referred to by Rutilius is the Osari or Ozari, which words, indeed, seem to preserve the ancient name.

Of the promontories running into the sea, Rutilius mentions by name only Mons Argentarius (line 315); but he names and gives some account of several of the islands he sighted, which may be regarded as continuations in the sea of the ridges that run down from the main range of the Apennines—e.g., Igilium (325), Ilva (351), Corsica (431), Capraria (439), Gorgon (515).

Mons Argentarius, now Monte Argentario, is a bold and rugged promontory, at one time probably an island, of about twenty-two miles circuit, connected with the shore by two strips of low land enclosing a marsh, in which now stands the city of Orbetello. The mass of rocks of which it consists rises in two summits, to which the poet alludes (*ancipiti jugo*), the one, Cima delle Tre Croci, 900 feet, the other 500 feet above the sea. Among the projecting rocks by which it is surrounded there are several small coves and two harbours—Portus Herculis, now Port' Ercole,

towards the east, and Porto Santo Stefano, with about 3,000 inhabitants, towards the north-west, facing the harbour of Telamone, on the mainland. Of the last-named place, Telamone, Rutilius makes no mention, though he passed it on his way to the mouth of the Ombrone. For the most part the rocks of the promontory rise sheer to a height of from 40 to 200 feet.

Itasius Lemniacus remarks that the poet's comparison (line 319) of Monte Argentario to the Isthmus of Corinth is not quite appropriate, and that in relation to the mainland it rather resembles the Peloponnesus, while the necks of land connecting it with the mainland rather correspond to the isthmus. Rutilius, no doubt, however, merely wishes to say that the promontory is washed by the sea on both sides, and is longer than it is broad; and for that purpose the isthmus is a more natural comparison than such a district as the Peloponnesus.

Igilium (line 325), now Giglio, lies about eleven miles from Capo d' Uomo, the western point of Monte Argentario. It runs north and south, and is traversed by a range of hills—no longer, however, covered with trees, as in our poet's time. It is probable enough that fugitives from Rome took refuge here at the time of Alaric's invasion, in 408, as we learn from St. Jerome (Ep. 12), and St. Augustine (De Civitate Dei, 1, 32), that many fled to much more distant places, such as Egypt, Syria, and Africa. We are not to suppose that the Goths invaded the island. The poet, no doubt rightly, represents the resistance the island offered as due to its position, which made it inaccessible to the Goths, who had little power at sea.

Ilva (line 351), now Elba, called Αἰθαλία by the Greeks, is still famed for its iron mines, as it was in our poet's time, and even as far back as the days of Alexander the Great.[1] Vergil refers to its inexhaustible mines in Aeneid, 10, 173 sq. *ast Ilva trecentos Insula, inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis*, of which passage the words of Rutilius may be a reminiscence. It is about six miles from the mainland. Its chief town is Portus Argous, now Porto Ferrajo, from which the ore is shipped to Follonica, on the neighbouring coast of Italy, as there is a lack of fuel for smelting it on the island.

Of Corsica (line 431) Rutilius got only a distant view from the sea. He takes occasion, however, to tell a curious tradition about cattle swimming across from the mainland to the island. A woman called Corsa was said to have followed in pursuit of them, and from her, tradition feigned, the island derived its name.

Capraria (line 439), or Caprasia, now called Capraia, lies twenty-three miles north-west of Elba and forty-two south-west of Leghorn. It is of volcanic origin, and too rocky for the growth of corn and garden crops; but it produces good vines, the culture of which, along with fishing and the coasting trade, gives support to the inhabitants, who number about 1,000. On the east side of the island there is a bay, with a fishing-village defended by a fort. Near this is a monastery, built in 1558; and not far off are still to be seen the ruins of the old monastery, against the occupants of which Rutilius speaks so strongly, and

[1] See Itasius Lemniacus, page 158.

ISLAND OF GORGONA.

Photo by Rev. T. T. Norgate, F.R.G.S.

which was erected in the second half of the fourth century. Orosius, in his history,[1] says that in the Gildonic War, 398 A.D., Mascezel took some of the monks from Capraria on board his fleet, and attributed to the efficacy of their prayers the success that his small force had in conflict with great odds. St. Augustine corresponded with Eudoxius, the Abbot of Capraria; and St. Gregory the Great commends this monastery, as well as that of Gorgona (see line 515), to the protection of the Bishop of Luni, to whose diocese both belonged. For further particulars about the island, see Itasius Lemniacus and the authorities he quotes.

The island of GORGON, now Gorgona, is called Urgo or Orgo by Pliny the Elder, Pomponius Mela, and Stephanus Byzantius. It lies about twenty-two miles south-west of Leghorn, and is about four miles in circumference. It suffers from want of water, and is consequently barren. It was long occupied by monks, but they now seem to be gone, and it is inhabited chiefly by fishermen. Itasius Lemniacus describes the varying fortunes of the place in his note on line 515.

We will now take in order the several places on the mainland at which Rutilius touched, or which he sighted, and give a short account of each.

About eighteen miles from Rome, near Porto, the Tiber divides into two branches (see lines 181 sq., *fronte bicorni Dividuus Tiberis*),[2] which enclose within

[1] 7, 40.

[2] Our author seems to be the first writer to mention expressly this branching of the Tiber. There is, however, in the Younger

them an island sacred to Venus, and called Insula Sacra. The left branch runs into the sea by Ostia, which was the ancient harbour of Rome, and where Aeneas was reputed to have landed.[1] The ruins of Ostia are now two or three miles from the coast, as the sea has gradually receded, owing to the accumulation of sand deposited by the river. Already, in Rutilius' time, the left branch was so silted up as to check traffic; and Rutilius accordingly followed the right branch of the river, on which Claudius had constructed a harbour, afterwards enlarged and improved by Trajan in 103 A.D., and known as Portus Romanus or Portus Augusti. Around this harbour sprang up a flourishing town called Portus, now Porto. The harbour of Trajan is now a shallow lake. In the meadows to the north of it, the extent of the harbour of Claudius may still be traced. For a full and interesting account of the whole region, see the long note by Itasius Lemniacus on line 179 sq.

The first place that Rutilius names after his voyage was at length begun is ALSIUM (line 223). It is remarkable that he does not mention Fregenae, now Maccarese, on the Arrone, a stream that issues from the Lago Bracciano and forms the Lago di Ponente, or Stagno Maccarese, mentioned above, page 45. Perhaps the early hour at which he set sail, while the light was still faint,[2] may account for the omission.

Pliny a reference to the canal made by Trajan to prevent the danger of floods, which canal is now the main arm of the Tiber. See Pliny, Ep. 8, 17 *Tiberis . . . fossa, quam prudentissimus imperator fecit, exhaustus.*

[1] See line 182.

[2] See lines 217, 218.

Alsium corresponds to the modern Palo. Pompey and Antoninus Pius had country residences here. At the beginning of the fifth century, however, its importance had ceased, as the words of our poet show. The remains of antiquity on the spot are now few.

About ten miles from Alsium was PYRGI, now Santa Severa, called 'Pyrgi on the beach'—'Pyrgi super mare,' as we would say—by Martial 12, 2, 1, *litereos Pyrgos*; and 'Old Pyrgi' by Verg. A. 10, 184, *Pyrgi veteres*. It was the harbour of the once powerful city Caere, the modern Cervetri, which is some four or five miles inland. CAERE was anciently called AGYLLA (line 226), and is mentioned under that name in Verg. A. 8, 478, where its supposed Lydian origin is referred to, as also its position perched[1] on a height, a situation characteristic of many Italian towns. It was not, however, visible from the sea; and it was only the territory of the town, not the town itself, that Rutilius can have sighted from his ship, as indeed his words very accurately state (see line 225).

CASTRUM (line 227) is not Castrum Inui, as Rutilius says was the common opinion, but Castrum Novum, eight miles from Pyrgi, and two from what is now called Santa Marinella, a place which Guglielmotti identifies with Castrum Inui. It is probably the place called Statio ad Punicum in the Peutinger Table, and lies on a small bay, where Torre di Chiaruccia still marks the site. The true Castrum Inui lies considerably to the south on the coast of Latium.

CENTUMCELLAE (line 237) is now called Civita Vecchia, a name given to it when it was rebuilt on

[1] Cf. the expression Hor. C. 3, 4, 14 *celsae nidum Acherontiae*.

the ancient site, after its destruction by the Saracens in the ninth century. Its port was constructed under Trajan, and bore his name. Pliny the Younger, who was staying with Trajan, in his villa at Centumcellae, at the very time when the harbour was being made, gives the following description of it (Epist. 6, 31):— *Imminet (villa) litori, cuius in sinu quam maximus portus velut amphitheatrum. Huius sinistrum bracchium firmissimo opere munitum est, dextrum elaboratur. In ore portus insula assurgit, quae illatum vento mare obiacens frangat tutumque ab utroque latere decursum navibus praestet. Assurgit autem arte visenda. Ingentia saxa latissima navis provehit; contra haec alia super alia deiecta ipso pondere manent ac sensim, quodam velut aggere, construuntur. Eminet iam et apparet saxeum dorsum; impactosque fluctus in immensum elidit et tollit. Vastus illic fragor, canumque circa mare. Saxis deinde pilae adjicientur, quae procedenti tempore insulam enatam imitentur.*

This description, written in the first century A.D. by an eye-witness of the construction of the port, furnishes an interesting commentary on Rutilius' account of the place at the time of his visit, 416 A.D.

Tauri thermae, line 249, called *Aquae Tauri* or *Taurianae*, by S. Gregorius, Dialog. 4, 55, was in Etruria, three miles north of Civita Vecchia, at the foot of the volcanic mountains of La Tolfa, and is now called Bagni di Ferrata. Pliny, Nat. Hist. 3, 5, 8, refers to the inhabitants of this place as *Aquenses cognomine Taurinos*. The waters, whose freedom from an offensive odour and whose delicate flavour the poet refers to, are still used both for drinking and for bathing. The poet mentions a local tradition that the spring was

brought to light by a bull—or perhaps rather a god disguised as a bull—turning up the ground with his horns. He goes on to compare the incident with the story of the Rape of Europa, the relevancy of the tale being that, in each case, the chief actor was supposed to have been a god disguised in the form of a bull. He also compares the received origin of the fount of Hippocrene on Mount Helicon, which was reputed to have been due to a kick from the hoof of Pegasus, and claims that Greece be not allowed a monopoly of such wonders.

There was doubtless here, as may be gathered from lines 269 sq., a temple dedicated to the Nymphs, such as Pliny tells us was to be found at the fountain of Clitumnus, on the road between Fuligno and Spoleto. See Byron's Childe Harold, 4, 66–67 :— *But thou, Clitumnus ! in thy sweetest wave Of the most living crystal that was e'er The haunt of river nymph, to gaze and lave Her limbs where nothing hid them, thou dost rear Thy grassy banks whereon the milk-white steer Grazes ; . . . And on thy happy shore a temple still, Of small and delicate proportion, keeps, Upon a mild declivity of hill, Its memory of thee.*

Graviscae, line 281, the port of Tarquinii, was an ancient city of Etruria, colonised by the Romans in 183 B.C. It received new colonists under Augustus. It was in the Maremma, and its air was unhealthy, as appears from the present passage, as well as from Verg. A. 10, 184 : *Et Pyrgi veteres, intempestaeque Graviscae.* Its site is uncertain, but is generally supposed to have been near the present malaria-stricken Porto Clementino, the port of Corneto. The latter town

sprang up early in the Middle Ages near the town of Tarquinii, which was afterwards destroyed by the Saracens. Dennis[1] places Graviscae about two miles from the sea on the right bank of the river Marta, which flows past Corneto. At this place there are considerable remains of walls and other buildings, including an emissary resembling the Cloaca Maxima. Canina, however, arguing from the distances given in the Itineraries, identifies these remains with Martanum or Marta.

Graviscae must have been a quite unimportant place when Rutilius passed it at the beginning of the fifth century. The pine-groves whose reflection in the water he describes have now disappeared. Pliny, Nat. Hist. 14, 6, 8, mentions wines of Graviscae, but there is now no trace of vines in the neighbourhood, and the low, marshy coast can hardly have been favourable for them.

The ruins of Cosa, line 286, now Ansedonia, lie $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Orbetello. The town had a good harbour, Herculis Portus, which still bears the name Porto Ercole. Cosa was an old Etruscan town already deserted in the beginning of the fifth century, as appears from the present passage. The polygonal walls, 1600 yards in circumference, and their towers are well preserved. The site, however, must have been again occupied in later times, as appears both from the character of some of the remaining ruins and from the repeated references to the place under the name of Ansedonia from the time of Charlemagne.

Vergil, in his catalogue of Etruscan chiefs who

[1] Bull. dell' Inst. di corrisp. arch., 1847, page 92.

accompanied Aeneas, mentions the town in the plural form Cosae, see A. 10, 166 sq.: *Massicus aerata princeps secat aequora Tigri; Sub quo mille manus iuuenum, qui moenia Clusi, Quique urbem liquere Cosas.*

Of Graviscae and of Cosa Rutilius only got a distant view from the sea; at the next place he mentions, namely, the Portus Herculis, line 293, he touched and passed the night, spending sufficient time to visit the remains of the camp dating from the flight of M. Aemilius Lepidus to Sardinia in 77 B.C., and to discuss the reminiscences which a visit to the site awakened. The harbour, which was situated on the south-east side of Monte Argentario, was a good one, and well sheltered on the north and west. It is now, however, only used by fishermen; all trade has passed to the other side of the promontory.

Faleria, line 376, called also Falesia, was situated at the mouth of the Cornia, a little to the south-east of the promontory of Piombino or Populonia, and was a harbour of some importance in the middle ages, but is now blocked up with mud, and Piombino has taken its place as a harbour.

Populonia, line 401, was a city of Etruria of considerable importance even in very ancient times, and is mentioned by Vergil in his catalogue of Etruscan chiefs who joined Aeneas, see A. 10, 172 sq.: *Sexcentos illi dederat Populonia mater Expertos belli iuvenes.* Its importance continued till the days of Sulla, when a large part of the city seems to have been destroyed in the wars of the time. In Strabo's time it was decayed and quite deserted, except the temples and a few

houses.[1] The chief remaining population was to be found at the little haven, as was still the case in the time of Rutilius, whose description of the desolation of the place is applicable at the present day. The harbour, now called Porto Baratti, is small, but secure, being formed by a natural bay running into the land, as Rutilius describes. Remains of the ancient city (of which, no doubt, the castle mentioned in line 407 was a part) are still to be seen, consisting of large polygonal blocks of stone of the Cyclopean type of work such as are found also at Rusellae, Volaterra, and Fiesole. This ancient Etruscan work is what Rutilius refers to in speaking of the traces of antiquity which the destructive tooth of time had left to view. Populonia, the Etruscan name of which was Pupluna, was probably settled from Volaterra, to whose inhabitants it was a place of importance, as it was the best port on the coast between Monte Argentario and Leghorn.

Itasius Lemniacus says that Strabo is wrong in thinking that the mountains of Sardinia are visible from Populonia. Macaulay makes the same mistake in his Lays of Ancient Rome:—*Sea-girt Populonia, Whose sentinels descry Sardinia's snowy mountain-tops Fringing the southern sky.*

The river Cecina is properly the limit of the Maremma, but the marshland practically ends with Populonia, and a more generous cultivation begins, though in the hot season the climate continues unhealthy.

The name of VOLATERRANA VADA, line 453, is still preserved in Torre di Vada, between the mouth of

[1] Strabo 5, 2, 6.

the Cecina and of the Fine, where a tower marks the site of a town that seems to be referred to by Cicero (Quint. 6) and Pliny (Nat. Hist. 3 (5), 8).[1] About this town Rutilius says nothing, and we know not whether it still existed in his time. Zumpt suggests that, even if it existed, he may not have had occasion to visit it, as Albinus opened the hospitality of his villa to him. Such importance as the place possessed passed to Rosignano, about four miles distant, a village first mentioned in the second half of the eighth century. Rutilius describes the sandbanks that make the place difficult of access, yet afford shelter from rough weather for such vessels as are small enough to enter within them.

The Villa of Albinus, which Rutilius (466) mentions as near this, Repetti[2] thinks lay on the southern slope of the hill of Rosignano, where the neighbourhood bears the name of La Villana, and where there are Roman remains.

The Villa Triturrita, line 527, was near the Portus Pisanus,[3] which probably lay between Leghorn and the mouth of the Arno, but has now disappeared, through the change that has taken place in the conformation of the coast, owing to alluvial deposit. The region is now a scene of desolation. The identification, however, is supported by the discovery of inscriptions and coins on the spot. Some writers, with less probability, have supposed that the Portus Pisanus was Leghorn, or was at the mouth of the Arno. The

[1] See Zumpt on line 453.

[2] See Itasius Lemniacus, page 171.

[3] See II. 12.

question is discussed at length by Zumpt, in his note on line 527, where the various authorities are cited. See also Itasius Lemniacus on the same line.

The Villa seems to have been a kind of fortress for the protection of the harbour, as may be gathered both from its name and from the military character of its occupants (see line 561). The Tribune who was in charge of it had been in the Imperial body-guard when Rutilius was *magister officiorum*. The military importance of the place was shown eighteen years before Rutilius' visit, at the time when the fleet, under the command of Mascezel, started from this port for North Africa, during the Gildonic War. A description of the occasion is given by Claudian (De Bello Gildonico, 415 sq.), where the place is referred to as *portus Etruscus* and *Alpheae navalia Pisae*. An inscription—*A. Caecinae Quadrato Caecina Placidus filius posuit*—was found there, and some Roman substructions, and many Roman coins of the time of the Gordians. There are still woods in the neighbourhood, as described in line 621.

Of Pisae, line 560, or Pisa, as it is now called, which he visited in order to see his friend Protadius, Rutilius does not give any full account. He mentions, indeed, that he saw a statue which had been erected in the forum of the city in honour of his father by the people of Pisa, whose kindly feelings towards their former governor had been cordially reciprocated by Lachanius; and he also briefly states the traditional story of the foundation of the city; but of the place itself he does not give a detailed description. He does, however, describe its situation in the triangle,

or, as he calls it, the pyramidal cone, formed by the confluence of the rivers Arno and Ausur. The latter river is probably to be identified with the modern Serchio; but its course is greatly altered since the time of our poet. It no longer flows into the Arno, but in the twelfth century—or, according to Pier Vettori and Guido Grandi, between the fifth and the tenth century—was, in order to relieve the people of Pisa from the danger of inundations, diverted from its ancient course, and now enters the sea some six miles to the north of the Arno, retaining its own name to its mouth, instead of being merged in the Arno, as in the time of Rutilius. The cone-shaped character of the site has therefore disappeared; and Pisa now claims but one river.

The name Serchio is, doubtless, derived from Auserculus, under which form the river Ausur is referred to in Muratori,[1] the first syllable being lost, and Serculum, or Serclum, changed into Serchio, in accordance with Italian usage. According to some writers, however, the Ausur is not to be identified with the Serchio, but with the Osari, or Ozari. For a discussion of the question, and for reference to the authorities, see above, page 46, and Itasius Lemniacus, page 182.

Pisa lay about six miles from the sea. It was long a place of considerable importance, and that it was so still in our poet's time is quite consistent with, if not actually suggested by, his words. Strabo[2] speaks of

[1] Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, vol. ii., pages 45 and 1299, as quoted by Zumpt on line 566. I have not, however, succeeded in verifying the references.

[2] Book 5, 2, 5.

it as being important on account of the neighbouring marble quarries and the quantity of timber it supplied for ship-building.

The scanty ruins of Luna, line II. 63, are at Luni, not far from Sarzana. From this place the famous Carrara marble got the name *marmor Lunense*. Pliny (Nat. Hist. 14, 6, 8, 5) praises the wine of Luna, *Etruriae Luna palmam habet*. See also Ennius in Persius 6, 9 : *Lunai portum est operae cognoscere, cives*.

Rutilius as an Author.

Not only does Rutilius hold a high place as a writer, from the poetical colouring and the purity of his language, and the fluency and pleasant rhythm of his verse, but he has also strong claims on our attention from the intrinsic merits of the subject with which he deals. The coast-line of Etruria, along which he sailed in his journey, and the islands that lie off it, are full of interest; and Rutilius was no unobservant or indifferent traveller, but had eyes and attention for all that came under his notice. There is probably no writer of classical antiquity that gives so clear and so lively an account of the places lying along an important part of the Italian coast, or that furnishes so full an insight into the circumstances of the land and of the people in the declining period of the Western Empire. But what gives a special charm to his poem is the tone of personal feeling that runs through it. His free expression of likes and dislikes; his warm love of Rome, and the panegyric he pronounces upon her; his cordial words of regard for his friends, and his praise of those who have rendered services to their

country and to mankind; his no less outspoken hatred of certain persons, such as Stilicho, and of certain classes of persons, such as monks and Jews: his appreciation of the beauties of nature, and his interest in natural phenomena, and his sympathetic description of them; his taste for observing the peculiarities of the places he saw, and collecting gossip and historical information about them, make us feel that we are dealing with a living man, and are not reading a mere guide-book. So that, though we know him only from his writings, those writings make him as real and as human to us as is Horace himself.

The diary of a journey, however, is not an ideal subject for poetical treatment; and in judging his merits as a poet we must therefore carefully distinguish the parts of the poem that deal with the daily prosaic itinerary of travel and those in which some suggestive and inspiring topic gives scope for his poetic talents.

A translator, and especially a verse translator, must bear this distinction in mind. A faithful translator cannot venture to alter the tone of his author's matter, and must not, simply because he writes his translation in verse, endeavour to give a high poetic colouring to passages that are prosaic in their substance, and might haply have been more properly treated in prose. The inequalities of the original justify similar inequalities in a faithful translation. It would be misleading to aim at giving to a version a uniformly elevated tone that is not found in the work of the author himself, and that may perhaps be foreign to the matter he is describing.

I hope these considerations will not be forgotten by those who read the verse translation which appears in this edition, and which has been supplied to me by the kindness of an old and valued friend, Dr. G. F. Savage-Armstrong, with whom I have passed many a pleasant hour in studying our author. I think those who can appreciate the original will agree with me as to the excellence and the accuracy of the translation, and the skill with which the translator has conveyed both the meaning and the tone of the author alike in the narrative and in the more distinctly poetical parts of the work.

The view here taken of Rutilius is very favourable; and much more criticism to the same purport will be found in Zumpt and Wernsdorf. The latter writer in particular gives[1] an interesting collection of quotations from a great number of writers who almost unanimously assign a high place to Rutilius. I may add that Professor J. S. Reid, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, says that Rutilius, rather than Claudian, might fairly be called the last of the Roman poets. It is, however, right to mention that Gibbon[2] takes a much less favourable view of our poet. He admits, indeed, that the poem of Rutilius is read with pleasure; that the poet's descriptions of what he saw have the colours of truth and nature which always distinguish the result of experience from the fruit of study and invention; that his thoughts are ingenious, artfully arranged, and expressed with clearness, precision, and taste; but he thinks the work should have been written

[1] Poetae Latini Minores, vol. 5, part 1, pages 66 sq.

[2] Miscellaneous Works, vol. 5, page 435, edit. 1814.

in prose, not in verse. Poetry, he says, seems equally to misbecome the subject and the genius of the author. The narrative of a voyage comes very properly from a philosopher, a man of parts, or a fine writer, but has no connexion with verse. He attacks in particular the first 180 lines. If those verses, he says, had been lopped off, the reader would not have been a loser. The panegyric on Rome was a subject that called for a truly poetical genius; and Rutilius, he thinks, is only a cold declaimer, who strains his faculties to string together commonplace thoughts, without finding in nature and himself colours fitted to adorn his theme.

The theme, indeed, Gibbon thinks, would not have been chosen by a judicious writer; for the reign of Honorius was not a proper period for describing the greatness of Rome—a greatness long since fallen to decay. Britain had separated from the empire; the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi had overflowed the finest provinces of Spain and Gaul; and, when Rutilius wrote, it was already six years since Alaric had taken and plundered Rome. The poet, it is true, tries to dissemble these calamities, comparing them with the defeats of Allia and Cannae, to show that Rome never suffered a reverse of fortune without rising more vigorous from the shock. But the comparison is feeble and false. In the time of Rutilius the springs of government were worn out; the national character, religion, laws, military discipline, even the seat of empire and the language itself had been altered or destroyed under the impression of time and accident. It would have been difficult to revive the empire, but

even could that have been effected, it would have been the empire of Constantinople or Ravenna, rather than that of Rome.

Rutilius' poetry he describes as mean and creeping, destitute of strength and devoid of harmony.

Rutilius' character he considers amiable: he had a love for his country, a heart susceptible of friendship, and a tender and respectful regard for the memory of his father; but he had a little too much vanity; he reviews the stages of his greatness with complacence; his country, his friends, and his father are endeared to him by their connexion with his own honours. His vanity is contemptible. Cicero boasted not of being Consul, but of saving the republic in his Consulship. Men may be more easily pardoned for being proud of their actions and talents than for valuing themselves on their employments and titles, the vain and frivolous distinctions of society.

The charges in this indictment are many and serious. Each reader can judge for himself how far they can be maintained. Most students of Rutilius, however, will probably think that the merits and the interest of the work more than compensate for the shortcomings or defects which the critical eye has detected. Gibbon seems to have taken an unsympathetic, and therefore an unfair, view of his author. He demands from the poet the political insight of a philosophical historian: he denies to the traveller the privilege of verse conceded alike to Horace in his journey from Rome to Brundusium, to Ausonius in his excursion on the Moselle, and to Avienus on his tour round the world.

In his versification Rutilius is skilful and graceful, and in both his hexameters and pentameters he usually follows the strict rules of the art, though a false quantity occurs in line I. 75, where see note. The chief objection taken to his verses is the somewhat too free and inartistic use of spondees. Something, however, may be said in his defence on this score. The spondee instead of the dactyl in the fifth foot of the hexameter occurs only in two places, II. 33 and I. 585. In the former of these lines, the last word is *Appenninum*; and of course considerable latitude is allowed in the names of persons and places, as often happens in Vergil.[1] In the second passage, the ending of the line with the word *praefecturam* is (as being a title of office) hardly an undue extension of the same principle. A disyllabic word, however, of two long syllables or a spondee made up of two monosyllables occurs frequently at the beginning of both hexameter and pentameter lines, and the recurrence of the unlinked spondee has been censured as prosaic and unpleasing. Yet perhaps even for this usage some defence or explanation may be suggested.

In thirty-one cases I. 22, 27, 59, 74, 88, 98, 147, 157, 159, 160, 176, 183, 192, 233, 271, 273, 313, 352, 354, 368, 373, 390, 428, 468, 491, 543, 546, 584, 613, II. 28, 39, the spondee is made up of two monosyllabic words, and its composite character in some degree relieves the disagreeable effect. As to the remaining seventy-three instances, the initial spondaic word is in six cases, I. 48, 295, 506, 516, 596, 612,

[1] Cf. also the line attributed to Nero, Persius 1, 95: *Sic, costam longo subduximus Appennino.*

inter, and in one, I. 334, *contra*, so that the isolation of the spondee is less felt, as the preposition connects closely with the following word it governs; in at least seventeen other cases, I. 6, 26, 31, 52, 66, 96, 124, 139, 358, 361, 362, 364, 366, 422, 441, 585, 591, there is a special emphasis on the initial word which is more clearly brought out by the weight of the isolated spondee, while the remaining instances of this somewhat heavy and clumsy rhythm, I. 35, 39, 61, 62, 75, 82, 84, 85, 89, 108, 126, 128, 135, 136, 164, 171, 184, 195, 198, 199, 210, 215, 220, 226, 228, 254, 305, 308, 314, 319, 330, 335, 372, 375, 389, 392, 444, 445, 459, 463, 464, 470, 550, 552, 567, 592, 595, 599, 602, 603, II. 1, 11, 29, 37, occur chiefly in the narrative parts of the poem where the subject-matter justifies a form more akin to prose.

Of a monosyllabic ending there is only one instance, and that an absorbed *est* at the end of a pentameter line I. 364 *viast*.

Of lines ending in words of four or more syllables, there are of hexameters, I. 239 *amphitheatrum*; 637 *Orioni*; of pentameters, 306 *adulterii*; 382 *Antiphate*; 450 *sollicitudinibus*; 472 *amicitiis*; 572 *insereret*; 628 *Amphitryoniadae*; II. 22 *Sicaniae*; 42 *imperii*. *Praefecturam* in I. 585, and *Appenninum* in II. 33 have been already dealt with. As to the word *Harpyias*, Lucian Mueller says it is used twice as a quadrisyllable. However, though in 608 the word is used apparently with that metrical value at the end of a pentameter line, it may be taken as a trisyllable in accordance with the ordinary usage at the beginning of 609.

For the most part the strong caesura is found in the third foot of the hexameter line. In ten cases (I. 47, 51, 121, 145, 185, 253, 297, 423, 467, 503) the weak caesura is found in this position; and in eight cases (I. 91, 165, 197, 411, 523, 571, 593, II. 15) there is no caesura in the third foot; but in all these cases the strong caesura is found in the fourth foot.

Elision is rare, and occurs for the most part (forty-two times out of a total of fifty-eight) within the first two feet. The syllable elided is for the most part short, and in twenty-one cases is *que*. There are only twelve cases of a long vowel being elided, and in all these instances the following vowel is long. Elision in the second half of the pentameter does not occur.

A short vowel at the end of a line occurs only in I. 87, 121, 247, 505, 545, 589, II. 59. Lengthening by caesura does not occur.

The sense is generally complete within the distich; in only thirty-four cases does it extend to two distichs; in five cases to three; and in one case to four distichs.

For a full discussion of the metrical character of Rutilius' verse, see Professor P. Rasi, *In C. R. Namatiani De Reditu suo libros* in Riv. di Filol. e Istr. Class. xxv. 2; aprile, 1897, pages 169 sq., where a high estimate is formed of the merits of his versification.

Merivale (chapter 41), it may be added, takes a like favourable view of our author. Rutilius, he says, is the only writer who deserves to be compared with Propertius in the force and fervour he imparts to elegiac verse, and in the skill with which he raises the soft and languid pentameter to the dignity of its heroic consort.

Manuscripts.

Only two MSS. of Rutilius are known to be extant, both belonging to the sixteenth century, namely, the Vienna Codex 277, formerly 387, quoted by Baehrens as c, by Zumpt as C, and by Hosius and in the present edition as V; and the Roman Codex referred to hereafter as R. Until quite recent times, indeed, the former of these MSS. alone was available, as the latter remained unknown until it was discovered by A. Elter, in the library of the Duke of Sermoneta, at Rome in 1891.

The history of the discovery of the poem is traced by Zumpt in the preface to his edition. It was first brought to light by George Galbiatus, Secretary of George Merula. The latter, being engaged in literary work at Milan, sent his secretary Galbiatus to search for any materials that might be useful for his purpose in the library of the monastery of Bobbio.[1] In the course of his researches Galbiatus came upon the poem of Rutilius along with the treatise of Terentianus Maurus on prosody and metre and other works of which Raphael Maffei of Volaterra gives a list in his Commentarii Urbani, Book iv., page 45, edition Basileae 1530. Maffei gives 1494 as the year of this discovery, and most editors accept that date. Some authorities, however, fix the date as

[1] Bobbio lies on the banks of the river Trebbia, about twenty-six miles to the south-west of Piacenza on the road to Genoa. Its once famous library is now for the most part in the Vatican.

1493; and in support of this latter view, Professor Vessereau[1] has adduced interesting and apparently conclusive arguments.

The poem of Rutilius remained unnoticed until the year 1495, when Thomas Inghiramius, surnamed Phaedrus, of Volaterra, who afterwards became librarian of the Vatican Library, copied the poem, and, leaving the original MS. at Bobbio, carried his copy, which was the source of the Italian copies made at the beginning of the sixteenth century, to Rome shortly before 1506. Now, at this time, the famous poet Jacopo Sannazaro had come back from France to Italy, bringing with him the recently discovered Halieutica of Ovid and the Cynegetica of Gratius and Nemesianus. Being an eager searcher for new works, he acquired or copied the MS. of Phaedrus,[2] and carried his copy to Naples. About two centuries later, in 1706, the archetype, which, as stated above, had remained at Bobbio, was carried off by Count Francis Bonneval, a general in the service of Prince Eugene, and where it is now is unknown. Zumpt dissents from the view taken by Peyron that it is in France; for Bonneval, though a native of that country, was an exile, and was serving under Prince Eugene in Austria. Bonneval, he observes, was more devoted to drinking than to reading; he probably got the MS. not for himself, but for Prince Eugene, from whom it would naturally pass into the Public Library at Vienna. It has not, however,

[1] See his edition of Rutilius, page 75 sq.

[2] Professor Vessereau has shown that there is no good reason for supposing that Sannazaro brought an additional ancient MS. of Rutilius from France.

been found. Professor Vessereau thinks that, if it still exists, it is probably in Holland or in England.

Zumpt conjectures that the archetype belonged to the eighth or ninth century, because that is the date of certain other MSS. from Bobbio that are in the library at Vienna. He also thinks it was written in the Lombard characters, not only because Bobbio was in Lombardy, but because we are expressly told that the work of Terentianus Maurus, which was found along with it, was in that character.

Zumpt, agreeing with Gentilotti, thinks that the present Vienna MS. is Sannazaro's copy mentioned above. From the latter view, however, Endlicher dissents[1]; and Hosius says the MS. is of later date than would be consistent with that theory.[2] Hosius accordingly pronounces the Vienna MS. to be derived from Sannazaro's copy, but not to be actually Sannazaro's copy.

Professor Vessereau accepts the view that the second hand in V is that of Sannazaro himself, and consequently holds that in V we have Sannazaro's own copy, partly written with his own hand. Baehrens also thinks that V is Sannazaro's copy.

This MS. Joseph Huemer, of Vienna, collated for Baehrens, and Baehrens calls the collation c.

The readings of V quoted in the Critical Notes of

[1] See Catalogus Codicum Philologicorum Latin. Bibl. Vindob., page 121.

[2] Rheinisches Museum, vol. li., page 197, note: "Sannazarius nahm seine Abschrift in den ersten Jahren des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts; jener Codex aber ist nach Aussage von Sachverständigen Jahrzehnte später geschrieben."

the present edition, and also the general description of the MS. here given, are from a collation which I made during a recent visit to Vienna.

The account of R, and the references to it in the Critical Notes, are from the articles by Elter and Hosius cited on page 76 sq.

The Vienna MS.

V is bound up in a vellum-covered volume, 19 centimetres high and 13 wide, along with eight other manuscripts of various ages. The first seven of these MSS. are on parchment; the MS. of Rutilius and that of Ovid's Halieutica which immediately precedes it are on paper. V comes last in the volume, and, in common with the MS. of Ovid's Halieutica that precedes it, measures 29 centimetres by $12\frac{1}{2}$. Its pages are consequently longer than those of the first seven parchment MSS., and they are doubled up so as to fit within the cover, as are also the pages of the preceding paper MS. containing Ovid's Halieutica.

The several MSS. are as follows:—

I. Pages 1*b* to 40*b* on parchment, tenth century. Scholia in Juvenalem.

II. 41*a* to 51*a*, parchment, fifteenth century. Alberti Magni Philosophia Pauperum. Pages 51*b* to 54*b* are blank.

III. 55*a*, parchment, ninth century. Eucheriae versus 21–32.

IV. 55*a* to 58*a*, parchment, ninth century. P. Ovidii Nasonis Halieutica. It is inscribed, Incipiunt versus Ovidii de piscibus et feris.

v. 58*a*, parchment, ninth century. Epigramma, ut videtur, Sidonii Apollinaris.

vi. 58*b* to 70*b*, parchment, ninth century. Gratii Falisci Cynegeticon.

vii. 71*a* to 73*b*, parchment, tenth century. Valerii Martialis Epigrammata quaedam.

viii. 74*a* to 83*b*, paper, sixteenth century. P. Ovidii Nasonis Halieutica. Of this ms. Endlicher says, "apographum est membranarum nostrarum."

ix. 84*a* to 93*b*, paper, sixteenth century. Rutilii Claudii Numantiani Itinerarium. Of this ms. Endlicher says, "est apographum membranarum quas olim Sannazarius habuit, quae tamen volumini nostro non insunt."

The mss. on pages 55 to 70—that is, the ninth-century mss. of Eucheria, of Ovid's Halieutica, of Sidonius Apollinaris, and of Gratius Faliscus, Endlicher says are the same that Sannazaro brought to Italy, "ex Heduorum finibus."[1]

The pages, or rather the leaves (for each leaf is numbered on only one side), of the volume are numbered in ink from 1 to 93, the first 73 leaves being parchment, and the remaining leaves, of which Rutilius occupies 84 to 93, being paper.

At page 87 there occurs an irregularity in the

[1] See Catalogus Codicum Philologicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis. Digessit Stephanus Endlicher, 1836; and also Tabulae Codicum Manu Scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservatorum. Edidit Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis, 1864. In both of these catalogues *Numantianus* is the form of the name given, and not *Namatianus*, as found in the ms.

pagination which is doubtless connected with a transposition of lines which occurs at that place. The leaf is double the usual width, and is folded back so as to fit into the cover. On opening the full leaf, one sees on the front side two pages of the ordinary size side by side, which are numbered 87 and 87* respectively. Page 87 contains lines 213, *Cujus*, &c., to 242 *latus*, and 415 *Laetior*, to 420 *pedes*, by first hand.[1] After 242 are two crosses and an asterisk referring to a foot-note, *vid.* 87*. Said page 87* contains lines 243 *Nec*, &c., to 274 *inest*, and *Hic docuit qualem* the first words of line 275 (which line is given entire on page 88) by second hand. At 243, on page 87*, are two crosses similar to those after 242 on page 87, and above line 243 at the top of the page are the words *ad hoc signum reponenda sunt*, meaning, of course, that lines 243, &c., on page 87*, are to run on after line 242 on page 87.

On the reverse of the double leaf there are two pages of the ordinary size, of which the second—i.e., the page to the right hand—is numbered 87**, and contains lines 421 *Cognomen*, &c., to 456 *regit*, by first hand, while the first page—i.e., the page to the left hand—is not numbered, and is blank, save that the words *Corsica* and *monac* are written so as to stand respectively opposite lines 431 and 442 (or rather 441) on page 87**.

Turning now to page 89*b* of the MS. we find 415 *Laetior hic n̂̃ras*, with reference in pencil, *vid.* 87, and in ink in an obscure, careless, and sprawling hand

[1] See page 74.

Superius est pagina; so, for line 415 *Laetior*, &c., to 420 *pedes*, we must turn to page 87, which is by first hand, and for 421 *Cognomen*, to 456 *regit*, we must turn to page 87**, also by first hand. At the top of page 90, we find, enclosed within lines, line 601 [*N*]*ec* to 602 *pater*, by first hand. Then lines 455 *Despectat*, &c., to 456 *Dirigit* (rest of the line blank) are repeated, and then line 457 *Incertus* (sic), &c., run on.

In the text three different hands are clearly distinguished. Two of these occur in the First Book, and the third in the Second Book. They will be hereafter referred to as first, second, and third hand respectively. From the first hand are the title, lines 1 to 242, 415 to 420 (which immediately follow 242 on same page of MS. 87), and lines 421 to 456 (which are on page 87** of the MS.). This is a clear, neat, upright hand in dark ink. From the second hand are lines 243 to 274, the words *Hic docuit qualem* (part of line 275) on page 87* of MS., and beginning on page 88 of MS., line 275 (the whole line beginning *Hic docuit*, &c., is here given) to the end of the First Book. This hand is also clear, but larger than the first hand, not so neat, sloping irregularly, and in ink of a lighter colour or more faded. In the First Book there are several marginal corrections preceded by the letter *·f·* Such of these corrections as refer to the part of the text written by the first hand are in a neat hand—possibly the first hand—but of lighter colour, as if the ink had been at once dried. On line 76 *factus ·f·* is dark. The other corrections (i.e., those unaccompanied by *·f·*) of the first hand are by the first hand, and in the same dark-coloured ink.

The corrections of the second hand (other than those marked with ·*f*·) are by the second hand.

From the third hand are the subscription of Book I. and all that remains of Book II. This hand is quite different from either of the hands in Book I. The ink used is lighter in colour. The writing is more sloped and more like an ordinary writing-hand, but still quite clear. It is the least formal of the three hands. The only correction in Book II. is by the hand that wrote the text.

The subscription of Book II.—*desunt in exemplo cetera ab Onofrio panvino in sua Roma*—is from yet another hand, irregular and sprawling and difficult to decipher. Perhaps it is the same as that which wrote *Superius est pagina* at line 415. Last of all come two words, apparently *Faffani est*, very faintly written in a graceful and ornate hand.

In Book I. there are no stops except a very occasional period. In Book II. both the period and the colon are frequent at the end of a line. In Book I. the letter *i* is not dotted; in Book II. it often is. In Book I. all lines, both hexameters and pentameters, begin with capitals; in Book II. the hexameter lines begin with capitals, the pentameters with small letters.

The use of capitals in proper names seems to be quite arbitrary. Thus in I. 167 *Roma* has a small initial, though elsewhere—e. g. 200—it is written with a capital. So we find I. 57 *phoebus*, 59 *lybie*, 75 *peoniam*, 85 *parthorum*, *Macedumque*, 108 *tarpeias*, 155 *castore*, 156 *cytherea*, 173 *poenos*, 174 *tyriis*, 180 *tyberis*, 184 *chelaram*, 187 *plias*, 223 *pyrgi*, 225 *ceretanos*, 267 *pieriis*,

279 *munione*, 281 *graviscarum*, 286 *cosae*, 291 *pygmaeae*, 297 *cosae*, 301 *mutincnsi marte*, 305 *caesareo*, 311 *latiis*, 463 *chorus*, 603 *camoenis*, although, in other cases, capitals are used with proper names. Line 85 shows small letter and capital used indifferently in same line. The same varying usage occurs with other words—e. g. *Deus* 18, 236, 524, but *deus* 392, II. 40; *patres* 158; *Praefecti* 160; *Teste* 170.

References to a marginal correction are usually made by a dot and stroke thus (·/). Two dots thus (. .) are usually placed opposite a line in which a correction is made. In some cases this sign is used where no correction is suggested. In these instances the reader probably felt dissatisfied with the line, but did not know what alteration to propose.

The Roman MS.

The second MS. mentioned above, that known as R, was discovered by A. Elter in the library of the Duke of Sermoneta at Rome. It had previously belonged to the lawyer and antiquary Annibale Bontadosi, who died in 1880. In the Rheinisches Museum for 1891, vol. xlvi., page 112, note 2, Elter gives a short account of his discovery of the MS., which he dates in the sixteenth century,[1] but which he does not think of any special importance in determining the text, as it practically agrees with the Vienna MS., and seems to be, like it, a descendant of the Bobbio MS. mentioned above. A collation of this MS. by

[1] Vessereau dates it a quarter of a century after V, i.e., in 1530, as he holds V to be Sannazaro's copy.

Carl Hosius appears in the Rheinisches Museum for 1896, vol. li., pages 197 sq., where he also approximately fixes the date of the MS. by identifying the handwriting with that found by Elter on the last page of another MS., Codex 522 [formerly D 8, 25], in the Bibliotheca Angelica, which actually bears the date 1527, so that he infers that the MS. R was written within thirty or forty years of the first discovery of the poem of Rutilius.

R is contained in a neat volume bound in leather, with the words *Joannes Andreas Crucianus* stamped on the front cover, and *Genio dedicavit* on the back. The pages measure 17·3 by 12·5 centimetres, and on each there are usually fourteen, though sometimes sixteen, lines. On the first page is a coat-of-arms with *Michaelis Josephi Mordi* (?) beside it. Pages 1–26 have the poem of Rutilius; f. 26^{v} has the same coat-of-arms; f. 27, some Italian words; f. 28, *Incipit prologus Petri Diaconi Casinensis Ad Corrandū Iperatorem III in libro lapidū temporibus innocentii PP II*; f. 29, a list of names of stones (*adamas*, *agathes*, *alectorias*, &c.); f. 30, *Incipit liber: Euax rex arabum fertur scripsisse neroni*; f. 58, *Incipit prologus euacis regis arabum ad neronem imperatorem.* Here comes a slip with the words *Joannes Andreas Crucianus Sabin* (*us* and *hu* cut off the margin) *nc Librum Scripsit*; f. 58^{v}, *Claudio Tiberio Neroni Imperatori Euax rex arabum salutem*, as introduction to a treatise on the virtues of stones; the last words (on *jacinthus*) are *portatus intra provinciam pestiferam languor non nocebit.* Then τελως. On a slip held by a bird of prey, *Ego Joannes Andreas Crucianus*, and on a second slip, *Marantcaros.*

Of the writer of R, Johannes Andreas Crucianus, Hosius does not entertain a high opinion. He points out that although R retains accurately the blanks found in its exemplar (e.g., 213, 227) and in 35 the unmeaning *e re*, which is doubtless faithfully copied, yet it has many oversights and blunders due to careless copying, for example, words, syllables, and letters wanting in I. 339, 566, 583, 589, 599, 624, II. 20, 31, 45, 60; I. 110, 124, 133, 151, 166, 304, 327, 329, 394, 530, 583, 596, 598, 614, 637; 103, 154, 195, 207, 222, 225, 238, 277, 291, 296, 319, 359, 446, 507, 511, 587, 593, II. 14. In I. 152, *que* is wrongly introduced. R shows ignorance of, or neglect of, the marks of abbreviation, so that *m* and *n* are often omitted in cases where they were no doubt represented by a stroke above the line—e.g., I. 16, 105, 153, 159, 225, 251, 287, 288, 359, 374, 425, 489, 592, 595, 601, 615, 636, II. 9; while, on the other hand, these letters or the stroke representing them are sometimes wrongly introduced—e.g., I. 165, 190, 247, 257, 412, 542, 597, 636, II. 10, 26. Through a similar ignorance or negligence *r* is omitted, I. 546, II. 59 (in I. 155 it is hard to decide whether the original was *pontum* or *portum*), and *s* at the end of words in I. 173, 249, 261, 420, 528, 539.

The writer has overlooked the flourishes that represent *us* and *ur* in I. 110, 314, 360, 537; while he seems to have confounded them in 349, 377, and perhaps in 217. Similarly he has interchanged *pro* and *prae* in I. 501, 537, II. 62, and in I. 381 has *p̄savit* for *pēsavit*. In many places letters are mistaken for one another—e.g., *a* and *u* in I. 70, 106, 107, 125,

273, 475; *a* and *e* in 119, 146, 147, 184, 488, 548, 549; *a* and *o* in 112, 297, 437, 475, 540, 636, II. 36; *n* and *u* in I. 38, 455, 456, 520, 590. These mistakes may partly be accounted for by the character used in the exemplar which was probably also minuscules, see I. 17, 126, 136, 137, 158, 187, 228, 238, 255, 261, 273, 279, 322, 450, 455, 485, 556, 566, 584, 587, 605. That the writer was an Italian is betrayed by the mode of writing in 24, 122, 386 (II. 23) *danna* (but 291 *damna*, 443 *dāna*), 67, 264, II. 64 *autores*, 385 *pulzatas*, 431 *oscuros*, 485 *defissas*.

Besides the MSS. V and R, Hosius thinks we have additional means for determining the text in the first printed edition (referred to hereafter as B) of the poem, which was published in 1520 by Johannes Baptista Pius at Bologna. The text of this edition, he thinks, goes back to Phaedrus' copy mentioned above, and would therefore be prior to Sannazaro's copy and its derivative V. Baehrens has made use of this edition in his apparatus criticus to the poem 1883; and the excellence of the collation furnished to him for the purpose by Professor Mau is testified by Hosius in the article in the Rheinisches Museum above quoted.

Hosius (l. c.) proceeds to compare the relations in which these three sources of the text stand to one another. V and B are closely connected; and in many places they agree with one another as against R, e.g., I. 80, 180, (211), 212, 232, 263, 265, 277, 315, 317, 318, 329, 395, 485, 526, 529, 552, 559, 573, II. 10. In disputed passages their agreement, he thinks, testifies to the existence of their reading in

Phaedrus' copy. As a means of determining the text, however, B is inferior to V, as the printed edition is not only liable to the oversights due to the carelessness of the scholar who prepared it for the press, and of the printer, but it also exhibits the more serious fault of intentional interpolations or alterations. This was already noticed by Zumpt (Praef., page viii) on I. 166. 178, 474; and it may also be assumed in *sua est* of I. 390, and still more clearly in 377, where to meet the prosodaical difficulty of the false reading *lūtoque* (*lūtum* is of course excluded by the sense) B inserts *que* after *petimus*. B is never to be given the preference over V R, unless perhaps in some trifling corruptions of those MSS. In many of his readings in B, Pius seems to have been influenced by reminiscences of Vergil, e.g., I. 178, 203, 259, 521, and of Ovid, e.g., 230. Hosius thinks the only passage in which one would be inclined to prefer B to V R is I. 396, *imperioque* for *imperiisque*. He seems also, however, to commend Baehrens for adopting *revocatus* in 375.

While the common source of V and B does not, according to Hosius, lie very far behind them in point of time, that of V and R must lie much further back. That V and R are from a common original appears not only from the same corruptions occurring in both—e.g., I. 26, 121, 457, 517, 535, II. 6—but also most clearly from the like lacuna occurring in both in I. 227, and because in both alike the end of Book II. is wanting. The connecting link between V and R is undoubtedly the Bobbio MS. from which V stands in the third degree, being, according to Hosius, probably

a copy of Sannazaro's copy of Phaedrus' copy. See, however, page 70 above for the view that V is Sannazaro's copy.

R also cannot claim the Bobbio MS. as its direct predecessor, but comes from it by an indirect descent. It does not, however, come by the same line of descent as V. This is evident, not only from the errors it contains and its deviations from V, which cannot all be attributed to Crucianus, who wrote R, and from the fact that we can hardly think the exemplar of R to have been in Langobardic characters as the Bobbio MS. seems to have been, but also from the omission of 213, where the word *Deest* shows that the line was wanting in the copy before the writer of R, though it must have appeared in the Bobbio MS. It is not necessary to assume many intermediate links—indeed, the retention of the lacunas suggests the opposite view. Such blanks do not easily keep their ground through several generations of copyists—e.g., the blank in 227, though found in B and O, is not found in the Roman edition in spite of its general dependence on B. R cannot have come through Phaedrus' copy on account of the passages where R has the true reading, though differing from V B—B representing Phaedrus' copy.

It is not easy to establish a close relation between B and R. The passages in which they agree against V are in some cases corrupt in V, e.g., I. 98, 235, 365, 461,[1] 638; and where V is to be preferred, it may merely give independent emendations of corruptions already existing in the Bobbio MS.

[1] Hosius considers *algam* not *viam* to be the true reading.

In 208 *Palladiam*, 214 *amore*, 222 *nobilitate*, 377 *lut(h)o*, 405 *speculum*—where V has the true reading and R and B agree in giving the wrong reading—probably the erroneous reading was in the archetype, i.e., the Bobbio MS., and thence transmitted, and was corrected by the writer of V. This is simpler than to suppose that R and B agreed in making the same careless mistake.

To compare the relative value of V and R is difficult. R has a number of new readings; but in most cases it is difficult to decide which MS. gives the earlier reading, e.g., I. 180 *secat—petit*, 263 *solos—solum*, 277 *fulsere—luxere*, 315 *in—ad*, 559 *fida—tuta*; and the readings that are worthy of a decided preference are found sometimes in the one MS., sometimes in the other. Thus what are no doubt the true readings, though hitherto grounded only on conjecture, are found in R 178 *tenet*, 211 *curae*, 265 *lymphas*, 552 *utramque*; and so in 235, *largo* is better than *longo*, and in 461 *algam* than *viam*; on the other hand, V has decidedly the superiority in 22 *miseranda*, 232 *Inui*, 317 *ternis*, 573 *Elide*, II. 62 *propositum*. In 302 *gemente* may appear more effective and forcible than *pavente*; but on the other hand, in 352, *gleba* is more poetical than *terra*. Caution in the use of R is taught by some impossible readings, e.g., 395 *capta*, and 529 *similis*. R is disfigured, not only by errors in writing, but also by great corruptions. On account of these fluctuations, it is also not decisive for the writing of the poet's name. We would, indeed, gladly accept *Claudius* in the first place; but the cognomen, which is omitted at the beginning and the end of Book I., and appears at

the beginning of Book II. in the form *Numantianus*, still remains uncertain.

Hosius, therefore, concludes that the real value of the new MS. R depends not on the few passages in which it has preserved the true reading more faithfully than V, but on the general documentary confirmation it gives of the readings of that MS. Hitherto an editor had to deal with only one codex, which he might assume to have been arbitrarily corrupted, but now the agreement of V and R, where it exists, practically represents a codex (the Bobbio MS. of the eighth century) that dates scarcely 400 years after the time when the poet lived, and 500 years before the revival of classical studies, and so forms a considerable check on the disposition to make arbitrary emendations, which Zumpt says (Praef., page xii) has prevailed in a conspicuous degree among students of Rutilius. Though the Bobbio MS. was doubtless not intact, the difference, Hosius observes, between the time of Charlemagne and the Renaissance was great.

Hosius proceeds to examine whether R throws any light on the source of the corrections made by the first and second hand in V. These changes are throughout improvements. Not only are the copyist's errors of V corrected as in I. 15, 56, 61, 69, 99, 117, 123, 135, 178, 220, 233, 305, 365, 388, 417, 425, 433, 536, 563, but also false readings that, judging from the agreement of V and R, existed already in the Bobbio MS. are satisfactorily emended—e.g., in I. 100, 125, 130, 166, 248, 405, 447, 482, 535, 612, II. 6. The question arises, whether these corrections are in all cases the

mere conjectures of some scholar, or whether they depend upon some MS. authority. Hosius distinguishes between the corrections that are accompanied by the symbol *·f·* and those that are unaccompanied by that symbol.[1]

In I. 98, where the text has *tolerat*, the margin has the unmeaning *tollerat*, and beside it *tolleret*, with *·f·* prefixed. It is hard to see how *tollerat* could have been introduced, except in deference to a MS. authority,[2] while *tolleret* is an obvious correction, so obvious indeed as not to require any special MS. authority, though it is found in R and B. In 129, again, *nisu* of the text is without necessity changed in the margin to *nixu*, which is in its turn struck out. This vacillation suggests the influence of another MS. with the alternative reading; and the same explanation applies to 476 where *Namque* is altered to *Nanque*, and 474 where *Addecessoris* is changed to *Ante decessoris*. In this latter passage R reads *An decessoris*, which partly explains the origin of the variants. In 628 *laxet* is changed to the inferior *lasset*, in agreement with R.

The corrections without *·f·* are probably made on MS. authority; those with *·f·* are conjectures, and probably conjectures of Phaedrus, as B already has them in the text in several places—e.g., I. 99, 117,

[1] L. Mueller and Baehrens explain *·f·* as *fortasse*, and this view is supported by a Vienna MS. (Miscell. Cod. 9401), probably dating in the time of Sannazaro, which, Schenkl says, while for the most part citing conjectures with the symbol *·f·*, has in one place the fuller form *fort*. Hosius, however, thinks it stands for *fiat*. See Rhein. Mus., li., page 209, note 1. Dr. Purser suggests it may stand for *fuit*.

[2] In 465 R has *tolleravimus*.

123, 135, 181, 192, 197, 388, II. 6. It is true, however, that these passages are those most easily emended, and so may have been corrected by Pius (the editor of B) himself, who also, in 474, changed *Ante decessoris* into *Praedecessoris*. In one place, indeed, line 178, the reading marked with *f* agrees with R; but the change of *teret* to *tenet* is so obvious that it is hardly necessary to assume special MS. authority for it. Professor Vessereau suggests that Galbiatus made a copy of the Bobbio MS. for Merula, and that this copy may have been the source of R. Phaedrus' copy of the Bobbio MS., he thinks, may have been the source both of V and of B.

Editions, Commentaries, and Versions.

A complete bibliography and a very full and interesting account of the various editions of Rutilius are given by Professor J. Vessereau in his edition. I give here a brief account of the editions and other subsidia referred to in my Introduction and Notes.

The Editio Princeps was brought out by Johannes Baptista Pius at Bologna in 1520, *in aedibus Hieronymi de Benedictis*. This edition, Baehrens thinks, practically represents Phaedrus' copy; and he attaches much importance to it for critical purposes, especially as, writing in 1883 before the discovery of the Roman MS., he knew of no MS. authority for the text of our Poet but V, or, as he calls it, c. The Editio Princeps is a quarto, and bears the inscription *Claudius Rutilius poeta priscus de laudibus urbis, Etruriae et Italiae*. To

the poem itself, in that edition, is prefixed this title: *Ad Venerium Rufium Rutilii Claudii Numatiani Galli, viri consularis, praefectorii urbis, tribuni militum, praefecti praetorio, liber primus Cui titulus itinerarium.* At the end it has the words:—*Bononiae in aedibus Hieronymi de Benedictis bonon. Anno Domini MDXX.* This rare book was collated for Baehrens by A. Mau in the Bibliotheca Angelicana at Rome.[1]

The next edition appeared at Rome *ex aedibus Jacobi* Mazocchii, 1523, in a collection entitled De Roma prisca et nova varii auctores. It is merely a reprint of the Bologna edition, and contains many misprints.

There are copies of both these editions in the British Museum.

The edition of Onuphrius Panvinius appeared in his work, entitled, *Onuphrii Panvinii Veronensis Fratris Eremitae Augustiniani Reipublicae Commentariorum Libri Tres*, Venetiis, 1558. Onuphrius made the curious and inexplicable mistake of thinking that the two books describe two different journeys, the first the journey from Rome to Gaul, and the second the return from Gaul to Rome.

Josias Simler's edition appears in a 16mo volume, after the *Cosmographia* of *Aethicus Ister*, and the *Antonii Augusti Itinerarium Provinciarum*, and followed in the same volume by Vibius Sequester *de Fluminibus*, &c. The title-page of the volume has *Ex Bibliotheca P. Pithoei cum Scholiis Josiae Simleri, Basileae*, 1575. Simler's notes on Rutilius are very short, only occupying four pages of a 16mo book; but Vessereau remarks

[1] See also pages 15 sq., above.

that they are interesting as being the first attempt at a critical treatment of the text.

Nic. and Jerem. Reusner, in the collection entitled, *Hodoeporicon sive Itinerum totius fere orbis libri VII*, *Basileae*, 1580.

Josephus Castalio, Romae, 1582. Castalio had no mss. to consult, but by a judicious use of the preceding editions, and by his own conjectures, he did much for the text, and was the first editor to lay a substantial foundation for a satisfactory commentary on the author.

P. Pithoeus (whose name, however, does not appear), in *Epigrammata, et Poematia vetera*, *Parisiis*, 1590.

Justus Zinzerling *cum animadversionibus Theodori* Sitzmani *Thuringi*, *I. C. et Philologi. Lugduni*, *excudebat Nicolaus Jullieron*, *Typographus Regius*, 1616. In the dedication addressed to *Jacobus Deveyne*, *Regius Consiliarius et in Lugdunensi provincia Procurator*, Zinzerling mentions that Sitzman, not having leisure to publish himself, had left his notes in his (Zinzerling's) hands. A second edition of this work appeared, *Lugduni*, *Typis Joannis Anard*, 1623. Of this 1623 edition Professor Vessereau doubts the existence. There is, however, a copy of it in the British Museum; and the mention of it by Wernsdorf is not due, as Professor Vessereau conjectures, to a confusion with Barth's edition that appeared at Frankfort in the same year. Of this edition Kapp says: "Maximam per partem Onuphrianam vel Simlerianam editionem, ut ego quidem arbitror, sequitur."

Caspar Barthius, *Francofurti*, 1623. Of this editor

Zumpt says: "Oneravit magis quam illustravit poetam, ut molem illam animadversionum tetigisse prope poeniteat." Kapp's criticism is equally unfavourable: "Textus hujus editionis plane e Sitzmaniana est repetitus, ne errores quidem typographici sunt emendati."

Ex Museo Th. J. ab Almeloveen. *Amstelaedami*, 1687. A duodecimo with frontispiece and map, containing notes by Simler, Castalio, Pithoeus, Sitzman, Barth, and Graevius. It for the most part follows Barth's edition.

Peter Burmann, in his Poetae Latini Minores, vol. ii., pages 3 sq., Leyden, 1731, and Glasgow, 1752. Of this edition Gibbon[1] says: "One of those Dutch editions, *cum notis Variorum*, in which the text only peeps out amidst a heavy mass of commentary. The 700 verses of Rutilius are spread over 200 quarto pages, crowded with the remarks of Simler, Castalio, Pithaeus (*sic*), Sitzmanus, and Barthius. Yet Rutilius is not a difficult author; once or twice only I should have been glad of an explanatory note; I looked for it in vain, but knew commentators too well to be surprised at the disappointment." Kapp says: "Quod ad contextum attinet, paucas ille continet emendationes."

Andreas Goetzius, *Altorphii*, 1741. This edition contains the notes of Jo. Georgius Graevius and Theod. Jans. ab Almeloveen. Reprinted in 1743.

Chr. Tob. Damm, *Brandenburgi*, 1760. With a useful summary of contents and a paraphrase.

Joannes Christianus Kappius *e terris Baruthinis*,

[1] Miscellaneous Works, vol. 5, page 435.

Erlangae, 1786; with some notes (as far as line 28) by Gottlieb Cortius (Kortte), not previously published. Kapp dedicates his edition to his father Jo. Georgius Kappius. In his preface he says he chiefly follows Damm's edition as being the best. He had no MSS. to consult. He classifies the MSS. of Rutilius under three heads: I. MS. Bobianum found in 1494, in the Coenobium Bobii, along with several other books of which Raphael Volaterranus (i.e., R. Maffeius), having given a list, goes on to say, "Bona pars horum librorum his annis proximis a meo municipe Thoma Phaedro, bonarum artium professore, est advecta in urbem." See Commentarii Urbani, Book 4, ed. Francofurti. 1603. II. MS. Sannazarii, found in France by Jacob Sannazarius, or, as he preferred to be called, Actius Sincerus. This MS. Kapp considered to be different from the Bobbio MS., but his premature death prevented him from giving his promised statement of his reasons for so thinking.[1] III. MS. Faerni, referred to by Castalio as the source from which Panvinius added the four lines I. 575–8 which were omitted in B. Kapp also classes the editions up to his time in three periods:—Aetas I, Natalis, from the first edition, Bononiae, 1520, to the year 1580; Aetas II, Castalionea, from 1582 to 1752; and Aetas III, Dammiana. He enumerates under these heads the various editions up to the year 1760, the date of Christianus Tobias Damm's edition, and gives some account of them.

[1] It is pretty certain that Kapp was wrong in thinking that Sannazaro acquired in France a MS. of Rutilius distinct from the Bobbio MS. See above, page 69, note [2].

Of Kapp's edition Gruber says: "Collatis pluribus editionibus novam contextus recensionem exhibuit, nonnullasque conjecturas proprias in textum admisit, quas in praefatione singulatim recenset. Majorem Rutilii editionem paraturus morte praematura pro dolor a proposito suo est retentus."

Professor Vessereau distinguishes three other periods subsequent to those of Kapp, viz.: IV, from Damm to Wernsdorf, 1760–1788; V, from Wernsdorf to Zumpt, 1788–1842; VI, from Zumpt to L. Mueller and E. Baehrens, 1842–1870–1884.

Jo. Christianus WERNSDORF, in his Poetae Latini Minores, vol. v., Part I., Altenburgi, 1788. With an elaborate Introduction and many Excursus. An important edition, full of matter and merit, but, according to Zumpt, spoiled somewhat by haste and carelessness.

D. Joannes Sigismundus GRUBER, *Norimbergae*, 1804, with notes by Jo. Georg. Graevius and Theod. Jans. ab Almeloveen, and the notice of MSS. and editions, by Jo. Chr. Kapp, given above, to which is added a notice of Kapp's edition, and also of Wernsdorf's.

A. W. ZUMPT, OBSERVATIONES *in Rutilii Claudii Namatiani carmen de reditu suo. Berolini*, 1836. A mine of information about Rutilius, about the persons he refers to, and about the history of the time.

A. W. ZUMPT, *Berolini*, 1840. A most important edition. The explanatory notes are still the best for the general interpretation of the text, though the valuable edition of Itasius Lemniacus marks a great advance in matters of geography and history. Zumpt has the merit of going back for the basis of his text

to the Vienna MS., which was collated for him by Ferdinand Wolf.

LUCIANUS MUELLER, Teubner, Lipsiae, 1870, with a short but useful critical introduction.

AEMILIUS BAEHRENS, in his Poetae Latini Minores, vol. v., Teubner, Lipsiae, 1883, with short critical notes and introduction.

ITASIUS LEMNIACUS (i.e., A. von Reumont, see Emil Weller's Lexicon Pseudonymorum), Berlin, 1872. Translation into German verse, reproducing the elegiac rhythm of the original. The geographical and topographical notes, which for the most part are based on personal observation (see page 65 of the work), are very full and interesting, as is also the introduction dealing with the history and the social conditions of the period. The work is in German; and the Latin text is not given. The translation follows Zumpt's text with Lucian Mueller's emendations.

It has not seemed necessary in the present edition to give a fuller topographical account of the several places mentioned than might serve to illustrate the text. Those who desire a detailed history of the several places will probably find their requirements fully satisfied by Lemniacus' important work.

I may add here that interesting accounts of Pisa, Portoferraio and Elba, Orbetello and Monte Argentario will be found in Montgomery Carmichael's delightful book, entitled "In Tuscany," London, 1901.

ARTURO TRINCH. Dal Poema "Itinerarium de Reditu Suo" di Claudio Rutilio Namaziano, Livorno,

1895. A translation into Italian verse of the Invocation to Rome, lines I. 47–164, and of the description of the Portus Pisanus, I. 527–II. 12, with a few short notes and a brief introductory notice of Rutilius. The Latin text is printed opposite the Italian translation.

De Cl. Rutilii Namatiani Reditu haec disseruit Martinus Martini, Florentiae, 1897. Six short discussions in Latin on the life of Rutilius, on his merits and faults, on his friends, and on some other matters arising out of his poem.

Agostino Maria Mathis, Dott. in Filosofia e Lettere: Rutilio Claudio Namaziano del Ritorno Carme in Due Libri. Versione Poetica con introduzione e commenti. Torino, 1900. Translation into Italian verse. The Latin text is not given. There are a few short notes. The introduction is full and interesting.

Cl. Rutilius Namatianus Edition Critique Accompagnée d'une Traduction française et d'un index et suivie d'une étude historique et littéraire sur l'œuvre et l'auteur, par J. Vessereau, Professeur Agrégé au Lycée de Poitiers, Docteur ès Lettres, Paris, 1904.

This elaborate work is a mine of information about the literature that has gathered round Rutilius. Professor Vessereau has not personally examined the MS. authorities for our author; but, besides quoting the two known MSS. from good authorities, he has furnished a very full apparatus of the variants in the principal editions, a complete bibliography, and an account of the history of the MSS. and editions, and has added a prose translation of the text in French.

He has not given regular explanatory notes, but this want is to a large extent supplied by a series of discussions of many matters connected with our author and his work, occupying the larger part of the book. The critical notes are in Latin, the rest of the work in French.

Professor Vessereau's work did not come under my notice until the present edition was ready—indeed, had for some time been ready—for the printer. I, however, got a copy of it in time to have the advantage of consulting it before going to press, and frequent reference is made to it throughout this volume.

There does not seem to be any English edition of our author.

Emendations proposed by the present editor are given in the notes on the following lines:—I. 1, 2, 76, 121, 206, 227, 300, 319, 322, 343, 361, 362, 373, 376, 381, 382, 394, 421, 436, 447, 528, 539, 603, 612, 632, II. 48.

My best thanks are due to Dr. Louis Claude Purser for kind help in reading the proof-sheets and for making many valuable and important corrections and suggestions.

I desire to express my obligations to the authorities of the K. K. Hofbibliothek at Vienna for their courtesy in allowing me to examine the Vienna MS. at a time of year when the library was closed for vacation.

The Roman MS. I have not seen, but it was unnecessary I should do so, as I have been able to

use Professor Hosius' skilled collation of it in the Rheinisches Museum as mentioned above, and have moreover had the advantage of referring to his scholarly examination of its value and of its relation to the Vienna MS. and to the Princeps Editio.

It is with profound grief that I have to record Dr. Savage-Armstrong's death. His loss has thrown a shadow over the completion of this work and has deprived me of the assistance of his scholarly and ripe judgment in the final revision of the translation.

Ahi Pisa, vituperio delle genti
Del bel paese là, dove il Sì suona ;
Poi che i vicini a te punir son lenti,
Movasi la Caprara e la Gorgona,
E faccian siepe ad Arno in sulla foce,
Sì ch'egli anneghi in te ogni persona.

Dante Alighieri, *Inferno.*

ABBREVIATIONS

V .	Codex 277, formerly 387, in the K. K. Hofbibliothek at Vienna.
R .	Codex Romanus found by A. Elter in the Library of the Duke of Sermoneta at Rome.
B .	Editio Princeps, published by Giovanni Battistà Pio at Bologna, 1520.
C. N. .	Critical Notes.
E. N. .	Explanatory Notes.
c.	conjectures.
Introd.	Introduction.
Alm. .	Th. J. ab Almeloveen.
Baehr. .	Aemilius Baehrens.
Burm. .	P. Burmann.
Cast. .	J. Castalio.
Crus. .	Crusius.
Heins.	N. Heinsius.
Leand.	Albertus Leander.
Muell. .	Lucianus Mueller.
Panv. .	Onuphrius Panvinius.
Pith. .	P. Pithoeus.
Wernsd.	Jo. Christianus Wernsdorf.

RVTILII CLAVDII NAMATIANI

DE REDITU SUO

LIBRI DUO

ARGUMENT

The poem opens with an expression of the regret the poet feels at leaving Rome, and a statement of the reasons that have, notwithstanding, persuaded him to return to his native land. Should anyone reproach him for having absented himself from his own land so long, he urges in excuse the powerful attractions of Rome, and the spell she exercises alike on native-born citizens and settlers from abroad (1–18).

The calls of his country, however, now at length overcome his reluctance. Her fields have been devastated by war; and though he might remain absent from her in her prosperity, duty calls him to her aid in her time of trouble (19–34).

The journey decided on, the question of the route remains, and that by sea is preferred to that by land on account of the state of the country. The lowlands are flooded, the hill country is steep and rugged, the devastating Getae have broken down the bridges and left few human abodes to limit the forests. Rutilius prefers to trust himself to the chances of the sea, and bidding farewell to Rome, passes her portals with reluctant steps, tearfully craving indulgence, and paying a tribute to the greatness of the city (35–46).

The next hundred and eighteen lines are a panegyric on the city of Rome. She is the deified queen of the world; the light of day will be forgotten before her glories pass from memory; the sun never sets on her dominions; the burning heat of the south,

the frosts of the north are no check to her energy; she unites many nations in one country; her conquest of them is their gain; they share the privileges of her constitution, so that what was before a world becomes a city (47–66).

Venus and Mars were the founders of the race, and so the descendants of Aeneas and of Romulus are equally ready for war and love; Rome takes a like pleasure in conquering an enemy and in sparing the conquered. The olive and the vine secured worship for their discoverers; agriculture and the medical art have their deities; Hercules is a god through the fame of his exploits; in like manner Rome triumphs through the power of world-embracing law (67–78).

She gives her citizens freedom by the restraints of law. Her empire surpasses that of the Assyrians, the Medes, the kings of the Parthians, and the Macedonians; yet her original powers were not greater than theirs; her triumphs were due to wisdom and to justice; that she rules is a less distinction than that she deserves to rule; her destiny was great, her achievements are greater (79–92).

It were too great a task to describe the number of her trophies, the splendour of her temples, her aqueducts, her reservoirs, her springs, her colonnades and groves, her climate (93–114).

Rome should take courage, remembering how she rose superior to her troubles in time past, how the successes that Brennus and Pyrrhus achieved against her were followed by their defeat. A power too mighty to be crushed rises stronger from a struggle, the torch bent to the earth shines all the brighter.

Rome has existed 1169 years; to her future there is no limit so long as earth and heaven remain. What breaks up other nations gives her fresh strength; the law of her rejuvenescence is that she grows by her misfortunes (115–140).

Then follow prayers for Rome's prosperity, for the defeat of the Goths who have dared to violate her precincts, that a peaceful tribute may flow into her coffers, that the ploughed lands of the Rhine, the flooded banks of the Nile, the harvests of Africa enriched by sun and rain may supply her with food, that corn and wine may abound in Italy itself, that commerce may enrich the banks of the Tiber (141–154).

He asks Rome (whom he addresses as a goddess, see lines 48 and 79) to grant him calm seas and divine guidance on his journey, and to cherish kindly memories of his conduct when in office (155–164).

After this long exordium, Rutilius at length starts on his journey. Some friends see him off, and parting tears are shed. Rufius, son of Albinus, is specially reluctant to leave the traveller. Rufius' family connexions, his career and his prospects are briefly sketched (165–178).

Rutilius takes ship at the point where the Tiber bifurcates, and he sails down the right branch; the left branch, by which Aeneas entered the river, being choked with sand. The autumnal equinox being past, the nights become longer, and the storms of the season make Rutilius glad to postpone his departure and take advantage of the port's shelter. From his refuge he looks back towards Rome, and can

distinguish her position, not, like Homer's hero, by the smoke of the chimneys, but by the brighter atmosphere that hangs over that favoured spot, and by the sounds that reach, or that he fancies reach, his ears (179–204).

After fifteen days' delay, a change of moon promises better weather; and preparing for departure, he dismisses to Rome and to his studies his young relative, Palladius, whose father, Exuperantius, receives a meed of praise (205–216).

They weigh anchor as the faint light of dawn discloses the country to their eyes. They travel in small boats which can readily find refuge along the shore. Merchant vessels should plough the sea only in summer; in autumn a vessel that can quickly make land is safer. They coast past Alsium and leave Pyrgi behind them. Then come Caere, in ancient times called Agylla, and Castrum Novum, which Rutilius wrongly identifies with Castrum Inui. Inuus he identifies with Pan or Faunus, a deity devoted to sexual passion (217–236).

They next come to Centumcellae, the modern Civita Vecchia, whose remarkable position is described at some length (237–248).

Hence they make an excursion three miles inland to Thermae Tauri. The legends of the place are told at some length, but, it is to be feared, in a somewhat sceptical spirit. A poem by Messalla describing the place gives an opening for a panegyric on the author (249-276).

Next day they renew the voyage; and for a little they keep out from the shore where the Munio has

formed shoals as the bubbling waters at the entrance show. They get sight of the roofs of Graviscae, which appear here and there above the woods, a place that often suffers from the exhalations of the marsh. The neighbourhood is well wooded, and the waving shadows of the pines play on the margin of the water. The deserted walls of Cosa come in sight. The town is said to have been abandoned by its inhabitants owing to the ravages of mice. This story Rutilius discredits, and thinks as little worthy of belief as the wars of the Pygmies and cranes. They next steer for the Portus Herculis. The wind falls towards evening. The place recalls the career of Lepidus the Triumvir, and of three others of the same name. The poet reflects how often misfortunes are associated with that name in the history of Latium (277–312).

Before the shades of night are dispersed they again commit themselves to the sea, a wind springing up from the neighbouring Mons Argentarius, which, running out into the sea, overhangs the waters with its two peaks. The situation is compared with the Isthmus of Corinth. The tedious doubling of the point is effected with difficulty, the boats being obliged to tack repeatedly. He next gets a distant view of the wooded heights of the island of Igilium, which had proved a refuge for many of the fugitives when Rome was captured by Alaric a few years before. Touching at the mouth of the Umbro, no mean river, Rutilius wished to take advantage of the shelter its safe entrance afforded; but, as the sailors urged him to prosecute the voyage, he reluctantly yielded and

continued his journey. Presently, however, the wind falls and daylight fails, so they are compelled to bivouac on the open beach in a hut extemporised by the help of the oars. They dispel the chills of evening by a fire made of sticks from a neighbouring myrtle grove (313–348).

At dawn on the fourth day, they proceed on their way by the tedious process of rowing, and sight Elba, whose iron mines suggest to the poet the benefits conferred on man by iron as compared with gold: and he relieves the monotony of the voyage by some not very profound reflections on the subject. They find the neighbouring Faleria *en fête* celebrating the festival of Osiris, and, though it is but mid-day, are inclined to suspend their journey and visit the groves and fish-ponds; but they abandon the plan, as their pleasure is spoiled by the grumbling and the extortions of their host, who happens to be a Jew. Rutilius improves the occasion to pronounce an invective against that nation (349–398).

Despite an unfavourable wind (Boreas), they take to their oars, and soon make the safe harbour of Populonia, which is formed by a natural curve of the shore. It has no lighthouse; but the want is compensated for by an old tower on a great rock, which serves the double purpose of a defence and a beacon. The tooth of time has wasted away the traces of the old city walls. Men should not complain of the dissolution of their bodies when even cities can die. Here he receives the joyful news that his friend Ceionius Rufius Volusianus had been appointed Prefect of the City (399–428).

The wind now changes (Aquilo); and they are able to proceed by sailing. The mountains of Corsica are dimly seen. The tale of the settling of Corsica is told. As they sail on, Capraria rises in sight. The monks who inhabit it come in for unfavourable criticism. They next come to Vada Volaterrana. The peculiar features of the place are described. Detained here by a violent gale (Corus), they are glad to shelter themselves in the hospitable villa of Albinus, on whom an encomium is pronounced. The neighbouring salt-pans are described. The delay, though unwelcome, had an agreeable issue, as it led to his meeting Victorinus, a friend of his from Toulouse. The merits of Victorinus are extolled (429-510).

At dawn on the sixth day, they sail over a peaceful sea and sight the island of Gorgo, where dwelt a recluse, a man who was once of some distinction. He was one of those who hope to earn heaven by making earth a hell, whose state is worse than that of Circe's victims, for *they* suffered only a bodily, not a mental, change.

They next come to Triturrita, a villa built on an artificial causeway. The adjoining harbour is remarkable for its barrier of sea-weed, which serves to break the force of the waves (511-540).

Though the wind is favourable for the prosecution of the voyage, Rutilius lingers on from a wish to visit his friend Protadius at the neighbouring Pisa. Panegyric on Protadius. Visit to Pisa. Description of its situation. Story of its foundation. Statue to

his father Lachanius and an account of his career. Panegyric on Decius and Lucillus (541-614).

Returning to Triturrita they propose to resume the voyage and trim the sails to the favouring south-wind (Notus); but clouds suddenly gather, and lightning flashes; so the departure is postponed. They beguile the delay by hunting in the neighbouring woods. Description of the storm (615-644).

The Second Book, or rather the small fragment we have of it, describes but one day's journey. It opens with an apology for the division of the work into two books (1–10).

The journey resumed. The slopes of the Apennines come into view (11–16).

Description of Italy (17–40).

Invective against Stilicho (41–60).

Journey continued. Description of Luna and neighbouring marble quarries. The poem abruptly ends, the rest being lost (61–68).

Like ships that sailed for sunny isles,
But never came to shore.

THOMAS K. HERVEY.

RVTILII CLAVDII NAMATIANI

DE REDITV SVO

LIBER PRIMVS

VELOCEM potius reditum mirabere, lector,
  Tam cito Romuleis posse carere bonis.
Quid longum toto Romam venerantibus aevo?
  Nil umquam longum est, quod sine fine placet.
O quater et quotiens non est numerare beatos,
  Nasci felici qui meruere solo!
Qui Romanorum procerum generosa propago
  Ingenitum cumulant urbis honore decus!
Semina virtutum demissa et tradita caelo
  Non potuere aliis dignius esse locis.
Felices etiam, qui proxima munera primis
  Sortiti Latias optinuere domos.

Title. *Ex fragmentis Rutilii claudii Namatiani de reditu suo e Roma in Galliam Narbonen* (the margin, that doubtless had *sem*, is cut off) V. *Claudii Rutilii Poetae Di* R. The MS R, however, Hosius says, is here mutilated; and for the full title we must look to the end of Book I, where we find *Explicit Liber Primus Claudii Rutilii Poete Incipit Liber II Claudii Rutilii Numantiani Poete Dignissimi.* The following is the title in B, the princeps editio:—*Ad Venerium Rufium Rutilii Claudii Numatiani Galli Viri Consularis, Praefectorii Urbis, Tribuni Militum, Praefecti Praetorio, lib. I, cui titulus Itinerarium.*

For a discussion of the Title see Introd., page 13 sq.

1 Baehrens c. *reditu* for *reditum*, so as to connect (*me* understood) *velocem* with *posse carere* in line 2. Perhaps we

THE HOME-COMING OF

RUTILIUS CLAUDIUS NAMATIANUS

BOOK I.

RATHER you 'll wonder at my quick return,
That I the sweets of Rome so soon forego.
What tedium can there be though men devote
The years of all their mortal life to Rome?
Nought tedious is that pleases without end.
O, ten times happy—past all reckoning—
Those whose desert it was to have been born
On that propitious soil; the noble sons
Of Roman chiefs, they crown their lofty birth
With the proud name of citizens of Rome.
The seeds of virtues sent and borne from Heaven
More fit abode could not find anywhere.
Blest too are they to whom a lot is given
Next to the highest,—in Latium a home.

should read *prorsus* for *potius*. See E. N., where the question of a lacuna at the beginning of the poem is discussed.

2 Perhaps we should read *Me cito* for *Tam cito*. See E. N., where also the conjectures *Quam* for *Tam* and *Quam me ita* for *Tam cito* are discussed.

3 *celebrantibus* Heins. *venerantibus* of V, however, is confirmed by line 16.

4 *unquam* VB (and so always). *cuiquam* Crus. *longum est* VR (and so always), and so Baehrens. Mueller writes *longumst*.

5 *O quantum et quotiens possum* VR, save that R has *quoties*. *quater* Heins. *quoties non est* Heins. *possem* B. For discussion of reading see E. N.

9 *coelo* VB (always). *celo* R.

11 *Foelices* R.

12 *optinuere* V. *obtinuere* RB.

Relligiosa patet peregrinae curia laudi;
Nec putat externos, quos decet esse suos.
Ordinis imperio collegarumque fruuntur
Et partem Genii, quem venerantur, habent,
Quale per aetherios mundani verticis axes
Concilium summi credimus esse dei.

At mea dilectis fortuna revellitur oris,
Indigenamque suum Gallica rura vocant.
Illa quidem longis nimium deformia bellis,
Sed quam grata minus, tam miseranda magis.
Securos levius crimen contemnere cives:
Privatam repetunt publica damna fidem.
Praesentes lacrimas tectis debemus avitis:
Prodest admonitus saepe dolore labor.
Nec fas ulterius longas nescire ruinas,
Quas mora suspensae multiplicavit opis.
Iam tempus laceris post saeva incendia fundis
Vel pastorales aedificare casas.
Ipsi quin etiam fontes si mittere vocem,
Ipsaque si possent arbuta nostra loqui,
Cessantem iustis poterant urgere querelis,
Et desideriis addere vela meis.

Iamiam laxatis carae complexibus urbis
Vincimur et serum vix toleramus iter.
Electum pelagus: quoniam terrena viarum
Plana madent fluviis, cautibus alta rigent.

13 *Religiosa* VR. *gloria* for *curia* R.
15 *ingenio* Burm. *collegatuque* Graevius. *feruntur* (margin *fruuntur*) V. *fruuntur* B.
16 *veneratur* R.
17 *etherios . . . axes* VB. *aetherios mundam verticis axis* R. *aetherias . . . arces* Baehr.
18 *Concilium* VR. *Connubium* B. *esse rei* R. *Dei* with capital V. Barth's conjecture *summis deis* is not only unnecessary, but, as Wernsdorf says, weakens the antithesis to *Genius*, which is the point of the comparison.
20 *Indigenanque* R.
21 *lognis* R.
22 *veneranda mgis* (so) R. This variation from *miseranda*, the reading of V, may be due to line 3 or 16.
23 *Securos* and in margin *securos f.* with apparently no difference V. *contendere* R.
24 *danna* R.
25 *lachrymas* VB (always). *lachrimas* R.
26 *admonitis* sc. *civibus suis* Burm.,

True to its patriot trusts the Senate stands
Open to foreign worth, nor alien deems
Those rightfully its own. They with their peers
Enjoy the Senators' authority,
And have their portion in the guardian spirit
Which they revere, even as we believe
The binding power of God Supreme pervades
From pole to pole the vaulted universe.

But 'tis *my* lot to be from shores I love
Torn, and the Gallic fields demand again
Their countryman. Too sadly marred those fields
By tedious wars; but the less fair they are
The more to be compassioned. Lighter fault
To slight one's countrymen in prosperous hours;
The public loss claims each man's loyalty.
Tears on the spot we owe our fathers' homes;
Oft schooled by grief love-services avail.
No more may we ignore the lengthening ills
Delay and help deferred have multiplied.
High time on fields fierce fires have left in wreck
To build anew if only shepherds' huts.
Nay, even the very springs, if they could speak,
Our very arbute-trees, could they exclaim,
Might urge my lagging foot with just reproach,
And to my yearnings lend the speed of sails.

The ties that bound us to the City dear
Are loosed; we yield and bend ourselves at last,
Though loth, to bear the homeward journey's pain.
We choose the sea-way, since by land the route
Lies over flooded flats and frowning crags.

who takes the meaning to be that it is only the pressure of trouble that makes the multitude value the services of good citizens. *labor* VR. *favor* Heins. Schenkl thinks lines 27, 28 should precede lines 25, 26. See E. N.

29 *Iam tepidus* R. Baehr. c. *per* for *post*. *saeva* VR. *longa* B, which Muell. thinks was introduced from line 27.

33 *urgere* V.

34 *addere* VR. *reddere* B. *vela* VRB. *verba*, mentioned by Wernsd., which Baehr. adopts, comparing Ov. Her. 20, 76 *Et liceat lacrimis addere verba suis*.

35 *laxatis* V. *laxatis e re* (so) *compl.* R. *lassati* Schrader., cf. line 371. *luctati* Alm. Crus. Prob. Crit. p. 55 conjectures *Quamquam lassati*, and in the next line *ut* and *toleremus* for *et* and *toleramus*. *laxatus* Simler. *laxati* Damm. *luxatis* Cast.

36 *at* for *et* Kapp.

37 *viarum* VRB. *vetabant* Baehr.

38 *pluviis* Heins. *cantibus* R. *saltibus* Zumpt.

Postquam Tuscus ager postquamque Aurelius agger
  Perpessus Geticas ense vel igne manus
Non silvas domibus, non flumina ponte coercet,
  Incerto satius credere vela mari.
Crebra relinquendis infigimus oscula portis:
  Inviti superant limina sacra pedes.
Oramus veniam lacrimis et laude litamus,
  In quantum fletus currere verba sinit.

Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi,
  Inter sidereos Roma recepta polos;
Exaudi, genetrix hominum, genetrixque deorum;
  Non procul a caelo per tua templa sumus.
Te canimus semperque, sinent dum fata, canemus:
  Sospes nemo potest immemor esse tui.
Obruerint citius scelerata oblivia solem,
  Quam tuus ex nostro corde recedat honos.
Nam solis radiis aequalia munera tendis,
  Qua circumfusus fluctuat Oceanus.
Volvitur ipse tibi, qui continet omnia, Phoebus,
  Eque tuis ortos in tua condit equos.
Te non flammigeris Libye tardavit harenis,
  Non armata suo reppulit Ursa gelu:
Quantum vitalis natura tetendit in axes,
  Tantum virtuti pervia terra tuae.
Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam:
  Profuit iniustis, te dominante, capi;
Dumque offers victis proprii consortia iuris,
  Urbem fecisti, quod prius orbis erat.

39 *thuscus—aurelius ager* R. *Aurellius* B. In V there are two dots before this line, but no correction is given. Wernsdorf, however, says '*postquam Taurellius* orae cod. adscriptum vidit vir doctus in Miscell. Obs. vol. iii., tom. iii.'

41 *sylvas* V. *villas* Heins.

42 *I incerto* R; and so R has in 115 *E erige*, 204 *Vvel*, 269 *I intrantemque*, II. 15 *I incipiunt*, 18 *E /// t*, 39 *I iam* 46 *I inmisit*, 48 *I illate*, 66 *E et*.

43 *reliq.* B.

45 *lachrimis* R. Burmann puts a comma after *veniam*, Damm after *lacrimis*.

48 *sydereos* R.

49 *genitrix* VB. Baehrens reads *nutrix* for *genetrix* before *hominum*, comparing line 146. *genitrixque* VB.

50 This line Baehrens encloses in brackets as a parenthesis.

52 *Sospes* VRB. *Hospes* Cuperus; but the preceding line, *sinent dum fata*, favours *sospes*. *inmemor* R.

53 *celatum* for *scelerata* Heins.

55 *radios* R. *moenia* or *munia* Barth.

For since the Tuscan fields, the Aurelian road,
Have suffered Getic raids with sword and fire,
Since woods have lost their homes, their bridges streams,
Better to trust with sails the uncertain sea.
With many a kiss we print the gates we leave
And loth our feet the sacred threshold cross.
With tears we beg forgiveness, offer praise,
As far as tears permit our words to run.

"HEAR, loveliest Queen of all the world, thy world,
O Rome, translated to the starry skies!
Hear, Mother of Men, and Mother of the Gods!
We, through thy temples, dwell not far from heaven.
Thee sing we, and, long as Fate allows, will sing;
None can forget thee while he lives and breathes.
Sooner shall we be guilty of the crime
Of burying in oblivion the sun
Than from our heart shall fade thy meed of love.
Thy gifts thou spreadest wide as the sun's rays,
As far as earth-encircling ocean heaves.
Phoebus, embracing all things, rolls for thee;
His steeds both rise and sink in thy domains.
Thee not with burning sands could Libya stay,
Nor thee did Ursa armed with frost repel.
Far as the habitable climes extend
Toward either pole thy valour finds its path.
Thou hast made of alien realms one fatherland;
The lawless found their gain beneath thy sway;
Sharing thy laws with them thou hast subdued,
Thou hast made a city of the once wide world.

munera fundis Graevius. *radios aequali munere pensas* Burm. *brachia tendis* quoted by Wernsdorf from Miscell. Observ.

56 *Quam* (written in contracted form) margin *qua* V. *circunfusus* B.

57 *phoebus* V. *phebus* R.

58 *ortus* VB. *ortas* (so) *equos* R. *ortos* Cast.

59 *flamigeris* V. *lybie* VR. *Libye* B.

60 *repulit* V.

61 *vitalis* VB. *vitales* R. *tetendit* with the first *te* above the line V. *tendit* R.

63 *patriam* corrected apparently from *patrum*, though Baehrens thinks from *patrie* V. Wernsdorf mentions the conjecture *Fixisti patriam.*

64 *iniustis* VB. *inustis* (so) R. *invitis* Juretus. *invictis* Cast. *infestis* Schrader. *domitante* Heins. *moderante* Burm.

65 *viris* R.

66 *orbis*, small initial, V. *Orbis* Muell. *Orbis fecisti, quod prius urbis erat* Vonckius.

Auctores generis Venerem Martemque fatemur,
Aeneadum matrem Romulidumque patrem:
Mitigat armatas victrix clementia vires;
Convenit in mores numen utrumque tuos.
Hinc tibi certandi bona parcendique voluptas,
Quos timuit, superat, quos superavit, amat.
Inventrix oleae colitur vinique repertor
Et qui primus humo pressit aratra puer.
Aras Paeoniam meruit medicina per artem,
Factus et Alcides nobilitate deus:
Tu quoque, legiferis mundum complexa triumphis,
Foedere communi vivere cuncta facis.

Te, dea, te celebrat Romanus ubique recessus,
Pacificoque gerit libera colla iugo.
Omnia perpetuos quae servant sidera motus,
Nullum viderunt pulchrius imperium.
Quid simile Assyriis conectere contigit armis?
Medi finitimos condomuere suos:
Magni Parthorum reges Macetumque tyranni
Mutua per varias iura dedere vices.
Nec tibi nascenti plures animaeque manusque,
Sed plus consilii iudiciique fuit.
Iustis bellorum causis nec pace superba
Nobilis ad summas gloria venit opes.

67 *Autores* VR. *Auctorem* B. *Martem Veneremque* Damm.

68 *Eniadum* V.

69 *Mitigat* with *M* above an erased *N* V.

70 *nomen* VRB. *numen* Barth. *utramque* R.

71 *cert. b. certandique* R. Hosius adds in a note: "Am untern Rande von f. 3ᵛ (= 71–86) liest man DELIA· B·; etwas tiefer DIANA·B·," which words he seems to erroneously connect with line 71. Dr. L. C. Purser points out that the words are possibly a gloss on line 73, wrongly explaining the *Inventrix oleae* as the Delian goddess Diana. The ·B· in each case, no doubt, stands for Bacchus, the *vini repertor*. Baehrens c. *par* in place of *bona*, on the ground that *bona* was inserted to complete the line when *par* had been dropped out on account of the following word *parcendique* beginning with the same letters. *voluntas* Burm.

75 *peoniam* V.

76 *Fretus* VRB, but in the margin V has *factus ·f·* Baehrens reads *Fertur. Fretus it* Barth. *Cretus* Cannegieterus. *mobilitate* Cast. *ferocitate* Almeloveen, in violation of metre. *nobilis arte* a variant quoted by Zumpt. Crusius in line 75 reads *Aedes* for *Aras*, and in this line *Prodit et Alciden nobilis ara deum*. Possibly we should read *strenui-*

"Venus and Mars the authors of our stock
We own,—She, mother of Aeneas' race,
He, father of the breed of Romulus;
Mercy in victory tempers strength in arms,
And in thy nature both the Gods unite.
Hence thy keen joy to strive and yet to spare
Quells whom it feared and loves whom it has quelled.
She who the olive made, the vine's revealer,
The boy who into earth first drove the plough,
Are worshipped; medicine won, through Paeon's art,
Honour of altars; for loftiness of soul
Alcides was made God. Thou, too, who hold'st
The world by triumphs bringing righteous law,
Mak'st all things live under a common bond.

"Thee, Goddess, thee each Roman nook remote
Doth celebrate in worship, and, with neck
Free, doth endure thy peace-creating yoke.
The orbs which all observe their ceaseless course
Have nowhere any fairer empire seen.
What empire like it did Assyria weld?
The Medes but their own borderers subdued;
The Parthian chiefs, the Kings of Macedon,
With varying fortune gave each other laws.
Yet not more life and force at birth were thine,
But more of prudence and deliberate mind.
Ennobled by just wars and modest peace
Thy glory to the utmost height has risen.

tate or *sedulitate*, or perhaps even Castalio's *mobilitate*. For the confusion of *mobilitas* and *nobilitas* cf. line 222. See E. N. The last word of the line in V is *donis*, which is crossed out, and *deus* written in the margin. Baehrens thinks *deis*, which he wrongly supposes to be the word in the margin of V, may be right in the sense *ad deos*: cf. Sen. Herc. Oet. 1978.

78 *comuni* V. *communi v. cuncta* R.

79 *receptus* Burm.

80 *Pacifero* R. *libica* with *e* by first hand over the second *i* R.

81 *perpetuos—motus* VRB. Baehr. reads *perpetuo—motu*, explains *servant* as *vident*, and takes *omnia* as accusative.

83 *assiriis* R. *connectere* VB. *cōnectere* R. *arma* B. *arva* Burm. Zumpt puts a note of interrogation after *Assyriis*, and removes it after *armis*, reading *cum domuere* in next line.

84 *Medi f. quum domuere* R. *cum domuere* VB. *condomuere* Muell. without comma after *Medi*, and with colon after *suos*. *tum domuere* Burm. See E. N.

85 *Magni* and in margin *Ipsi f.* erased V. *parthorum* V. *partorum* R. *macedumque* V (but with capital) RB. *Macetumque* Pith. *tyramni* V.

88 *justitiaeque* Crus.

89 *nec parce* R.

Quod regnas minus est quam quod regnare mereris:
Excedis factis grandia fata tuis.

Percensere labor densis decora alta tropaeis,
Ut si quis stellas pernumerare velit,
Confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus:
Ipsos crediderim sic habitare deos.
Quid loquar aerio pendentes fornice rivos,
Qua vix imbriferas tolleret Iris aquas?
Hos potius dicas crevisse in sidera montes;
Tale giganteum Graecia laudet opus.
Intercepta tuis conduntur flumina muris;
Consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus.
Nec minus et propriis celebrantur roscida venis
Totaque nativo moenia fonte sonant.
Frigidus aestivas hinc temperat halitus auras;
Innocuamque levat purior unda sitim.
Nempe tibi subitus calidarum gurges aquarum
Rupit Tarpeias hoste premente vias.
Si foret aeternus, casum fortasse putarem:
Auxilio fluxit, qui rediturus erat.
Quid loquar inclusas inter laquearia silvas,
Vernula qua vario carmine ludit avis?
Vere tuo numquam mulceri desinit annus;
Deliciasque tuas victa tuetur hiems.

91 *quod quam r. miveris* R. Crusius unnecessarily conjectures *quodque regis minus est quam quod rexisse mereris* (i.e. thou deservest to rule over more than thou dost).

92 *facta* VRB. *fata* Panv.

93 *Per* of *Percensere* in V is a correction, and the whole word is therefore repeated in the margin. *tropheis* VR.

96 *crediderís hic* Burm.

97 *loquor* R.

98 For *Qua* Burmann conjectures *Par* or *Quo*. *himbriferas* R. *tolerat* with *tollerat* 'f' *tolleret* in margin extending to the back of a projecting parchment slip pasted on the other side of the page at line 135, where see Critical Note V. *tolleret* RB. Baehrens c. *colligat*.

99 *sidere* with *sidera* 'f' in margin V. *tot scopulis dicas crevisse in sidera moles* Crus. *dicam* and *ad sidera* Kenchenius.

100 *Quale* Barth. *gigantaeum* B. *grecia* R. *laudat* VRB. In V *e* is written above the second *a* of *laudat*.

101 *Intercoepta* V. *Intercaepta* B. *Interrepta* R. Zumpt quotes, but with disapproval, *suis* for *tuis* Kenchenius ad Frontin. p. 371, referring to the substructions on which the streams

It is a smaller thing that thou dost reign
Than that thou dost deserve to reign; by deeds
Thou dost transcend thy glorious destiny.

"To tell the trophies of thy victories
Were task as hard as numbering the stars.
Thy glittering temples daze the wandering eyes;
I could believe the Gods themselves so housed.
Why tell of thine aërial aqueducts
Lofty as Iris could uprear her bow?
Say rather mountains lifted to the heavens!
Let Greece of such a work of giants boast,
If boast she can! The intercepted streams
Are stored within thy walls; thy lofty baths
Absorb whole lakes; and with the dashing spray
Of their own fountains are thy walls refreshed,
And echo to the voice of their own springs.
Hence a cool breeze tempers the summer's heat,
And purer draughts innocuous quench the thirst.
'Tis true for thee a sudden boiling flood
Rent the Tarpeian paths by foes assailed;
If it endured I might believe it chance;
Doomed to retire, it sprang to succour thee.
Why tell of groves with fretted porches girt
Where sports the native bird with varied song?
The year throughout is mellowed by thy spring,
And vanquished winter shelters thy delights.

rested, and which were called *muri*, 'dams.'

101–110 On the order of these lines see E. N.

103 *propiis* R.

104 *Totaque* VR. *Lotaque* Muell. *nenia* R.

105, 106 Baehrens and Schenkl put these lines after 102.

105 *estivas* V. *extivas hic* R.

106 *Innocuūque* R.

107 *subitas* R.

108 *tarpeias* V.

109 *externus* R.

110 *reditur* R. *periturus* Heins.

111 *liquar* R. *inter* VRB. *subter* Baehr. *sylvas* V.

112 *quae* VB. *que* R. *qua* Cast. *varia* R. *ludat* VRB.' In V there are two dots (..) before the line, the usual mark where a correction is made, but no correction is given. *ludit* Panv. *laudat* Baehr. *quis* (i.e. in quibus silvis) Pithoeus. *quam* (i.e. quam vario) *ludat* Graevius. *quam* and *laudet* Crus. *qua Ismario carmine ludat* Barth. *Garrula* Scriverius.

113 *nunquam* V. *des. amnis* R.

114 *Delitiasque* RB. *hyems* VRB. *aucta* (i.e. provisis et conditis copiis locupletata) Crus. *stricta* or *vincta* Schrader.

Erige crinales lauros seniumque sacrati
  Verticis in virides, Roma, refinge comas.
Aurea turrigero radient diademata cono,
  Perpetuosque ignes aureus umbo vomat.
Abscondat tristem deleta iniuria casum :
  Contemptus solidet vulnera clausa dolor.
Adversis solemne tuis sperare secunda.
  Exemplo caeli ditia damna subis.
Astrorum flammae renovant occasibus ortus ;
  Lunam finiri cernis, ut incipiat.
Victoris Brenni non distulit Allia poenam :
  Samnis servitio foedera saeva luit.
Post multas Pyrrhum clades superata fugasti ;
  Flevit successus Hannibal ipse suos.
Quae mergi nequeunt, nisu maiore resurgunt,
  Exiliuntque imis altius acta vadis.
Utque novas vires fax inclinata resumit,
  Clarior ex humili sorte superna petis.
Porrige victuras Romana in saecula leges,
  Solaque fatales non vereare colos,
Quamvis sedecies denis et mille peractis
  Annus praeterea iam tibi nonus eat.
Quae restant, nullis obnoxia tempora metis ;
  Dum stabunt terrae, dum polus astra feret.

116 *recinge* VRB. *refinge* Heins.

117 *thurrigero* R. *radiant* with *radient* *·f·* in the margin V. The correction was apparently first superlinear above *a* of *-ant* in text, but erased.

118 *umbro* B.

119 *stristem delata* R.

120 *Contentus* R.

121 *Adversus solem ne vis* VB. In V there are two dots (..) before the line, but no correction is made. *A///dversus solem nevis* R. *Adversis solemne viris* Cast. *Adversis solemne vices sp. secundas* Burm.; but some word to indicate the second person seems necessary. *Adversis solemne tuis* Simler. Perhaps we should read *tuumst*, i.e. *tuum est*, or better simply *tuum*. See E. N.

122 *Ex templo coeli d. danna* R.

123 *novant* with *renovant* *·f·* in margin V. *ronavant* R.

124 *fini cernis* and after *incipiat* an erasure of two words R.

125 *Breñi* with *Brenni* in margin V. *Breni* B. *bromii n. d. alia penum* R. *paenum* B. *poenum* with *poenam* *·f·* in margin V. *modo distulit* or *non sustulit* Burm.

"Rear high thy laurelled locks, renew, O Rome,
Youth's vernal tresses on thy reverend brow;
Let thy gold crown flash with embattled round,
And thy gold shield ray forth perpetual fires;
Let thy dire woe be blotted and forgot;
Let thy contempt for suffering heal thy wounds.
It is thy wont in woe to hope for weal,
And, like the heavens, bear wanings crowned with gain.
The flaming stars set but to rise once more;
The moon thou seest wanes—to wax again.
The victory at Allia kept not back
The punishment to conquering Brennus due;
The Samnites by their servitude repaid
The price of the hard terms they offered thee;
After full many a slaughter thou, subdued,
Drov'st Pyrrhus in full flight; and Hannibal
His own successes lived at last to mourn.
Things that refuse to sink, still stronger rise,
And higher from the lowest depths rebound;
And, as the torch reversed new strength attains,
Thou, brighter from thy fall, to heaven aspirest!
Spread far the laws through all Rome's length of years
Destined to last, and fear not—thou alone—
The distaff of the Fates, though even now,
Thy thousand years and sixteen decades ended,
Thy ninth new year beyond them rolls away.
The years to come are bounded by no bourne
While earth abides, while heaven sustains the stars.

126 *Sannus s. federa seva luit* (*l* from *fl* apparently) R. *foeda* for *saeva* Schrader.

127 *Pyrrhum* V. *pyrrum cl. superacta* R.

128 *Hannibal* V. *Annibal* B. *anibal* R.

129 *Que* for *Quae* R. *nisu* with *nixu* erased in margin V. *nixu* RB. *resultant* Burm.

130 *Exiliũque milis a. alta* R. *alta* VB with *acta ·f·* in margin of V.

133 *roma in sec.* R. *Romanas ventura in saecula* Burm. *Romanas victura in saecula* Schrader.

134 *colus* Cast.

135 *sexdecies* V with, probably, *sedecies* in the margin; the first part of the word, however, is almost obliterated. It is written on a slip of parchment pasted on and projecting beyond the paper page of the MS. The slip bears also the number of the line 135, and 1169, the number of years mentioned in the text. The same slip on its other side has the words referred to in the Critical Note on line 98.

136 *novus erat* R. *nonus erat* Panv.

137 *Quin* for *Quae* Heins. *millis* R. *metis* VB. *maestis* Baehr. *seclis* Burm.

Illud te reparat, quod cetera regna resolvit:
Ordo renascendi est, crescere posse malis.

Ergo age, sacrilegae tandem cadat hostia gentis:
Submittant trepidi perfida colla Getae.
Ditia pacatae dent vectigalia terrae:
Impleat augustos barbara praeda sinus.
Aeternum tibi Rhenus aret, tibi Nilus inundet:
Altricemque suam fertilis orbis alat.
Quin et fecundas tibi conferat Africa messes,
Sole suo dives, sed magis imbre tuo.
Interea et Latiis consurgant horrea sulcis,
Pinguiaque Hesperio nectare prela fluant.
Ipse triumphali redimitus arundine Tibris
Romuleis famulas usibus aptet aquas;
Atque opulenta tibi placidis commercia ripis
Devehat hinc ruris, subvehat inde maris.

Pande, precor, gemino pacatum Castore pontum,
Temperet aequoream dux Cytherea viam;
Si non displicui, regerem cum iura Quirini,
Si colui sanctos consuluique Patres.
Nam quod nulla meum strinxerunt crimina ferrum,
Non sit praefecti gloria, sed populi.

139 *te rapiat* R. *caetera* B.

140 *Cardo* Heins; but *Ordo* is favoured by the passage Sid. Carm. 7, quoted on line 129 in E. N. *renascendi est* V. *renasciendi est* R.

141 *sacri lege tantem* R.

142 *Sumittant* V. *Summittant* R. *getae* V. *gethe* (*th* on erasure) R.

143 *pagate* R.

144 *preda* V.

145 *Renus* B. *Eternum t. rhenus* (*h* on erasure) R.

146 *Rectricem* or *Tutricem* or *Auctricem* Schrader, but unsuitably, for there is evidently an intentional play on the words *Altricem* and *alat.* *alet* R.

147 *foecundas* VB (as always). *fecundas t. conferat aphrica* R. *conserat* Rutgersius.

148 *hibre* V. *hȳbre* R. *imbre* B. *imbre suo* Heins.

149 B omits *et.* *turgescant* Burm. *consurgant hordea* or *consurgat adorea* vir doctus in Observ. Miscell.

150 *hesperio* V. *praela* B. *plura fl.* R.

151 *redimus* R. *Tybris* VRB. *Thybris* Baehr. *Tibris* Muell.

That thee revives which other realms dissolves;
Thy law of birth is by thine ills to thrive.

"Come, therefore, let the impious race at length
Fall as a victim, let the Getae quail,
And to the yoke yield their perfidious necks.
Let lands at peace once more rich tribute pay,
Barbarian plunder fill thy imperial lap;
For thee let Rhineland plough, and Nile o'erflow,
Let fertile Earth yield nurture to her nurse,
Her teeming harvest Afric bear to thee,
Rich in her sun, yet richer by thy showers.
Meanwhile, let barns, too, rise for Latin sheaves,
With wine of Italy rich presses flow;
Let Tiber's self, crowned with triumphal reeds,
His waters minister to Roman use,
And for thy needs between his peaceful banks
Waft down the country's wealth, waft up the sea's.

"Spread under Castor's smile a waveless main,
Let Cytherea smooth my watery road,
If I without offence Quirinus' laws
Administered, if to the Senators
I reverence paid, and counsel from them sought.
Not to the Prefect's but the people's praise
Let it redound no crimes unsheathed my sword.

152 *Romuleisque* R. *usibus* V. *ossibus* B. *classibus* Cast. *Romuleas famulis classibus* Schrader. *iussibus* Barth. *ausibus* Scriverius.

153 *comertia* V. *comercia* B. *comentia* R.

154 *Devevehat—subeat* R. In V *maris* has *a* on a correction, whence the word is repeated in the margin. Possibly the original letters in the text were *in aris*.

155 *pacatum* V, which I have retained. Most editors print *placatum*, apparently under the impression that such is the reading of V. R, however, seems to have *placatum*. *castore* V. *portum* V. *potum* R. *pontum* B. *gemino placato Castore* Burm.

156 *equoream* V. *cytherea* V. Baehrens c. *Tempera et*, and takes *dux Cytherea* as vocative. *citharea* R. *cytheraea* B. *dum* for *dux* Burm.

157 *quum* R. *iure Quirites* Crus.

158 *coluis s. consiliūque* R. *patres* V.

159 *strixerunt* R.

160 *Non id* Heins. *Non ea* Burm. *Praefecti* V.

Sive datur patriis vitam componere terris,
Sive oculis umquam restituere meis:
Fortunatus agam votoque beatior omni,
Semper digneris si meminisse mei.

His dictis iter arripimus. Comitantur amici.
Dicere non possunt lumina sicca 'vale.'
Iamque aliis Romam redeuntibus haeret eunti
Rufius, Albini gloria viva patris;
Qui Volusi antiquo derivat stemmate nomen
Et reges Rutulos teste Marone refert.
Huius facundae commissa palatia linguae:
Primaevus meruit principis ore loqui.
Rexerat ante puer populos pro consule Poenos;
Aequalis Tyriis terror amorque fuit.
Sedula promisit summos instantia fasces.
Si fas est meritis fidere, consul erit.
Invitum tristis tandem remeare coegi:
Corpore divisos mens tamen una tenet.

Tum demum ad naves gradior, qua fronte bicorni
Dividuus Tiberis dexteriora secat.
Laevus inaccessis fluvius vitatur arenis;
Hospitis Aeneae gloria sola manet.
Et iam nocturnis spatium laxaverat horis
Phoebus Chelarum pallidiore polo.

161 *terris* (*i* from *e* or *a*) R.
162 *unquam* V. *nunquam* Kapp, apparently contrary to the sense.
165 *inter* R.
166 *Dicere non possum* (with *t* written above *m*) *lumine* (*a* over *e*) *sicco* (*a* over *o*) *vale* V. *possu lumina sic vale* (so) R. *Non possum sicca dicere luce 'vale'* Baehr. *voce* for *luce* Heins.
167 *romam* V.
169 *Volusi* VRB. *Voluso* Baehr. *stemate* V. *momen* R.
170 *Rutulis* V. *rutilos* R. *Teste* V.
171 *commissa* R.
172 *Primevus* V. *Primeus* R. *principis orsa loqui* Schrader.
173 *Rexerat ante* (*x* and *ante* on erasures) — *populo* — *penos* R. *poenos* V. *pater* for *puer* Burm.

Whether in mine own land to end my life
Be given, or to mine eyes be thou restored,
Blest shall I be, and happier than all hope,
If thou but deign still to remember me!"

With these words set we out. Our friends attend.
With tearless eyes we cannot speak "farewell."
When all the others had returned to Rome,
Still kept with me, departing on my way,
Rufius, his sire Albinus' life and pride,
Who draws his name from old Volusian stock,
And cites Rutulian Kings on Vergil's word.
To him most eloquent the charge was given
Of the Imperial Palace; in his youth
To be the spokesman of the Emperor
Was his desert; the tribes of Africa,
Yet earlier, as Proconsul, while a boy,
He had governed, and he was alike the source
To Tyrian folk of terror and of love.
His zeal untiring has a promise given
That he the highest office shall attain;
If one may trust to worth, he 'll Consul be.
At last I sadly forced him to return;
Sundered in body, one mind holds us bound.

At length I seek the ships, where to the right,
Branching, divided Tiber cleaves his way.
By reason of its impassable bars of sand
The left-hand stream is shunned, its one renown
The coming of Aeneas to its shores.
The Sun in Libra with a fainter glow
Had lengthened now the watches of the night.

174 *tyriis* V.

175 *Saedula* B. *imitantia* with *imitatio* in margin, but crossed out V. *imitatio* RB. *instantia* Muell. See Rhein. Mus. xxiv. 636.

178 *diviso* B. *teret* crossed out with *tenet* ·*f*· (the *f* crossed out) in margin V. *tenet* R. *fuit* B. Barth reads *diviso* and *manet*.

179 *Tum tm̃* (= *tantum*) R.

180 *Tyberis* V (with small initial) B. *tibris dext. petit* R.

181 *Levus* (so B) corrected from *Levis* and with *Laevus* ·*f*· (the *f* crossed out) in margin V. *Levus in accessis* R. *harenis* B.

182 *Hospitiis* R. *eneae* V.

183 *spacium* V.

184 *chelarum* V. *pallidiora* R.

Cunctamur temptare salum portuque sedemus,
Nec piget oppositis otia ferre moris,
Occidua infido dum saevit gurgite Plias,
Dumque procellosi temporis ira cadit.
Respectare iuvat vicinam saepius urbem,
Et montes visu deficiente sequi,
Quaque duces oculi grata regione fruuntur,
Dum se, quod cupiunt, cernere posse putant.
Nec locus ille mihi cognoscitur indice fumo,
Qui dominas arces et caput orbis habet;
(Quamquam signa levis fumi commendat Homerus,
Dilecto quotiens surgit in astra solo)
Sed caeli plaga candidior tractusque serenus
Signat septenis culmina clara iugis.
Illic perpetui soles, atque ipse videtur
Quem sibi Roma facit purior esse dies.
Saepius attonitae resonant Circensibus aures;
Nuntiat accensus plena theatra favor.
Pulsato notae redduntur ab aethere voces,
Vel quia perveniunt, vel quia fingit amor.

Expectata fides pelagi ter quinque diebus,
Dum melior lunae se daret aura novae.
Tum discessurus studiis urbique remitto
Palladium, generis spemque decusque mei.

185 *Cũtamur tentare solo* R. *tentare* V. *solum* B.

186 *ocia* VRB. *ferre oris* R. *appositis* h. e. congruentibus, dignis, ad rem facientibus Barth. *notis* Schrader.

187 *gurgide phas* (with *f* over *p*) R. *plias* V.

188 *procelloso* R. *cadit* VRB. *calet* Muell., referring to his note on Prop. 3, 16, 52.

190 *visũ* R.

191 *Quaque duces*: Baehrens puts a comma after *duces*, and, with that word, understands *montes* from the preceding line, 'and where they (sc. the hills) lead.' Others connect the words with *oculi*. *Qua reduces oculi* Damm, i.e. oculi qui saepe respectant et Romam quasi redeunt. *Quippe* or *Usque* for *Quaque* Heins. *Quam reduces . . . fruuntur*! Burm. *Quaque datum est oculis* Schrader. *fruuntur* VRB, but Baehrens thinks the word inappropriate, owing to the following verse, and reads *feruntur* (cf. *duces, sequi*).

192 *cupiunt* corrected from *capiunt*, and so *cupiunt* repeated in margin, with '*f*' (the *f* crossed out) V.

195 *Quamquam* VB. *cõmendat* V. *commenda Somerus* R.

We hesitate to tempt the main, and rest
In harbour, nor reluctant do we bear
The idleness of hampering delays,
While Pleiad setting raged on treacherous seas,
And till the stormy season's anger fell.
'Tis our delight to look back many a time
Toward the near City, and to trace its hills,
Till vision failed, what way the eyes may lead
To enjoy that region dear, thinking they see
That which they long to see. Nor is that spot
Which shelters the imperial citadel
And capital of Earth, by its tell-tale smoke
By me detected (what though Homer praises
The traces of the feathery smoke as oft
As from one's own loved land it soars toward heaven)
But a clear tract of sky, a space serene,
Marks the bright summits of the Seven Hills.
There shine the sun's rays ever, there appears
Purer than all the rest Rome's self-made day.
Oft with the Circus' noise our startled ears
Tingle, and still-increasing cheers proclaim
The crowded theatre; the well-known shouts
Are rolled from the reverberating air—
Whether they come indeed, or love so feigns.

For thrice five days we waited for a calm
Till with a new moon came a fairer wind.
Then, ere the moment of our setting out,
Back to the City and his Books I send
Palladius, hope and honour of my race.

196 *quoties* B. *asra* R. *foco* Heins.
197 *celi* V. *tractuque*, but with *s* over *u*, and consequently *tractusque* repeated in margin with ·*f*· V.
198 Baehrens suspects *culmina*. *septeni iugi* auctor in Observ. Miscell. quoted by Wernsd.
200 *isse dies* Heins.
201 *circensibus*? V. *aureis* R.
202 *Nunciat* R.
203 *ad aethera* B. *Pulsatum . . . ad aethera* Kapp.
204 *fignit* R, on the lower margin of page 7^{v} (= lines 191–204) of which MS. a late hand has written the line from Vergil A. 6, 539 *Nos* (so given by Hosius) *ruit aeneas nos flendo ducimus horas.*
205 *Explorata* VRB. *Expectata* Schrader.
206 Dr. Purser suggests *Num* for *Dum*. *fideret* VRB. In V the line is preceded by two dots (. .), but no correction is suggested. *se daret* Heins. *sideret* or *sisteret* sc. pelagus Wernsd. Perhaps we should read *fundaret* written in the contracted form *fūderet*. See E. N.
207 *ubique* R.
208 *Palludiā* R. *Palladiam* B.

Facundus iuvenis Gallorum nuper ab arvis
Missus Romani discere iura fori.
Ille meae secum dulcissima vincula curae,
Filius affectu, stirpe propinquus, habet:
Cuius Aremoricas pater Exuperantius oras
Nunc postliminium pacis amare docet;
Leges restituit libertatemque reducit
Et servos famulis non sinit esse suis.

Solvimus aurorae dubio, quo tempore primum
Agnosci patitur redditus arva color.
Progredimur parvis per litora proxima cymbis:
Quarum perfugio crebra pateret humus.
Aestivos penetrent oneraria carbasa fluctus:
Tutior autumnus mobilitate fugae.
Alsia praelegitur tellus, Pyrgique recedunt;
Nunc villae grandes, oppida parva prius.
Iam Caeretanos demonstrat navita fines:
Aevo deposuit nomen Agylla vetus.
Stringimus *hinc caesum* et fluctu et tempore Castrum:
Index semiruti porta vetusta loci.
Multa licet priscum nomen deleverit aetas,
Hoc Inui castrum fama fuisse putat.
Praesidet exigui formatus imagine saxi,
Qui pastorali cornua fronte gerit:

209 *arvis* V. *ab auris* R. *oris* Zumpt.

211 apparently *cunę*, but perhaps *curae* V. *curę* (so) R. *cunnae* B. *curae* M. Virdungus quoted by Baehrens.

212 *prop. evat* R.

213 *are modicas* with *aremoricas*, or perhaps *anemoricas*, written above V. In R this line is omitted and in its place is the word *Deest. exuperantius* V.

214 *Non post liminium* R. *amore* RB.

216 *servas* sc. leges Heins.

217 *Solvimus* final *s* changed from *r* R.

218 *reditus* R. *ora* i.e. facies et discrimina rerum Wernsd.

219 *littora* VB. *litora* Baehr. *proxima ŭbis* R. *lembis* Burm.

220 *Quorum* V. *Quarum* B. Baehrens, who reads *Quorum*, explains: in litora perfugere humilis saepe ora permisit. *crebra* with *a* corrected from *er* V.

222 *gratior* or *mitior* for *tutior* Burm. *utumnus nobilitate fuge* R. *nobilitate* B.

223 *pyrgique* V. *pigrique* R.

225 *Ceretanos* V (but with small initial) B. *ceretanos demostrat navia* R. *Caeretanos* Cast. *Cerretanos* Panv.

226 *Aevo* VB. *Aevom* Baehr. *Agilla* V. *agilla* R.

227 In VRB there is a lacuna between *Stringimus* and *et*, which is

That eloquent youth had lately from the fields
Of Gallia been sent to learn the laws
Of Roman courts. He has the sweetest bonds
Of my regard—my son by love, in blood
My kinsman. Now the Armoric lands his sire
Exuperantius teaches to delight
In home-returning peace, restores the laws,
And brings back liberty, and suffers not
Its natives to be servants to their slaves.

In the faint dawn we sail, what time their tint
Returning first makes visible the fields.
We coast the shores anear in little skiffs
Such as along the beach might refuge find
Frequent and wide. Let sailing merchant-ships
Plough slow the summer seas; the autumn-time
By speed of flight is safer. The Alsian shore
Is sailed along, and Pyrgi fades from sight,
Now villas large, of old time little towns.
Now points the seaman the Caeretan bounds;
Its ancient name, Agylla, is lost with years.
We coast by Castrum gnawed by wave and time;
An ancient gate marks the half-ruined place.
Though years the ancient name have blotted out,
Tradition deems it Castrum Inui.
A little stone-wrought statue here presides
Which bears, like shepherd's God, a forehead horned,

variously supplied: *absumptum fluctuque et tempore* Cast. *absorptum* Burm. *expugnatum* Baehr. *hinc exesum* Barth, which last conjecture is adopted in the text. *hinc canens* Muell., which Schenkl approves. Though these suggestions give what is doubtless the general sense required in the passage, they do not afford any explanation of how the lacuna may have arisen. Perhaps we should read *hinc effractum*; the latter word, especially if written in the contracted form *effractū*, might easily be dropped before *et fluctu*; for *effringere urbem* cf. Stat. Theb. 9, 556.

228 *seminiti* R.

229–231 Damm places lines 231 and 232 before 229 and 230, which arrangement gives a more natural connexion of meaning. See also Schenkl, l. c., and G. F. Unger, Philologus, vol. 39, p. 370.

230 *cornua* VR. *nomina* B. *numina fronte tegit* h. e. qui sub habitu pastorali deus est Gruevius. *gramina* i.e. coronam pastoralem Crus. *numina fronte tegit* Damm. *cornua fronde tegit* Kapp. Burmann c. *Qui Pastoralis nomina fronte gerit*, meaning that *Pastoralis* was the only word of the inscription that remained legible, the rest having perished through age.

232 *inui* V. *Jani* R.

Seu Pan Tyrrhenis mutavit Maenala silvis,
Sive sinus patrios incola Faunus init,
Dum renovat largo mortalia saecula fetu,
Fingitur in venerem pronior esse deus.

Ad Centumcellas forti defleximus austro:
Tranquilla puppes in statione sedent.
Molibus aequoreum concluditur amphitheatrum,
Angustosque aditus insula facta tegit;
Attollit geminas turres bifidoque meatu
Faucibus artatis pandit utrumque latus.
Nec posuisse satis laxo navalia portu;
Ne vaga vel tutas ventilet aura rates,
Interior medias sinus invitatus in aedes
Instabilem fixis aera nescit aquis;
Qualis in Euboicis captiva natatibus unda
Sustinet alterno bracchia lenta sinu.

Nosse iuvat tauri dictas de nomine thermas,
Nec mora difficilis milibus ire tribus.
Non illic gustu latices vitiantur amaro,
Lymphave fumifico sulphure tincta calet:
Purus odor mollisque sapor dubitare lavantem
Cogit, qua melius parte petantur aquae.

233 *Tyrrhenis* VB. *Tyrrenis* Panv. *immutavit menala sylvis* with *im* of *immutavit* crossed out V.

234 *incola* VR. *sive greges proprios incubo* or *seu simus pecudes incubo* Burm.

235 *Dum renovat* VRB. *Dumque novat* Burm. *Dumve novat* Baehr. *longo* V. *semina* VRB. (cf. 308) *saecula* Muell. cf. 365. *femina* alluding to the Bona Dea, the wife of Faunus, G. F. Unger, Philologus, vol. 39, p. 370. *foetu* VB. *fetu* R.

236 *Deus* V.

237 *centum cellas* VRB. *Austro* V. *haustro* B.

238 *Tanquilla p. inflatione* R. *hic* before *puppes* Heins.

239 *Mollibus eq. conclauditur* R. *Montibus* apparently Barth, see Wernsdorf's note.

242 *arctatis* VB. *arctatus* R. After this line, which is on page 87 of V, come lines 415 to 420, with a cross in margin and an asterisk referring to a foot-note, 'Vid. 87*'. On said page 87* follows line 243, with a cross, above which on the margin is written *ad hoc signum reponenda sunt*, meaning of course that line 243 should follow immediately after 242 on preceding page. The same page 87* ends with *Hic docuit qualem*, the first three words

Whether this Inuus be but Pan who leaves
Maenalus for the groves of Tuscany,
Or local Faunus in his native woods,
While he renews man's age with plenteous births
The God is fashioned too much passion's slave.

To Centumcellae we incline our course,
Driven by a strong south-wind. Our ships are moored
In tranquil roads—the amphitheatre
Of waters is by piers enclosed, an isle
Man-fashioned screens the narrow entrances;
Twin towers it rears, and by a two-fold course
On either side opens with narrowed mouths.
Nor was it enough to rear wide-harbouring docks;
That yet no wandering breeze might rock the ships
When even safe in port, an inner pool
In 'midst the buildings coaxed, with waters calm
Knows naught of restless wind, like captive wave
In Cumae's baths that buoys the sluggish arms
Moved by the swimmers in alternate sweep.

It pleases us to visit the hot springs
Named from a bull, nor do we grudge the time
To travel three miles thither. The waters there
Are not with brackish flavour spoilt, nor tinged
With fuming sulphur hot; pure smell, and taste
Delicate, make the bather hesitate
Which use were best, to bathe in it or drink.

of line 275, which complete line, with variants noted below, follows on page 88.

244 *Nec vagas* R. *vetilst* V.

245 *insinuatus* Heins. *inrivatus* formed on analogy of *erivatus* Burm.

247 *euboias c. natantibus* R. *penatibus* or *meatibus* Schrader.

248 *Substinet a. brachia* (with a second *e* written above by the first hand) *l. sono* R. *bracchia* V. *sono* VB, with *sinu* '*f*' in margin of V. *solo* Heins. *salo* Crus. Barth and Damm, on account of the want of connexion with what follows, think some verses are lost here; but for instances of similar abruptness Zumpt compares lines 277, 337, and 349.

249 *Tauri* and *Thermas* V. *thauri* and *thema* (with *r* over *e* by the first hand) R.

250 *difficilis* VRB. Baehrens reads *distantis* sc. thermas, id est ex usu poetarum 'ad thermas dist.' He remarks that 'mora difficilis' and 'ire tribus milibus' are both unusual expressions. *millibus* V.

251 *viciantur* B. *vitiatur* R.

252 *Lymphaque* VRB. *Lymphave* Barth and Damm. *sulfure* R.

253 *molis que s. d. labentem* R. *labantem* VB. *lavantem* Simler. Wotke says V has *dub. laborantem*; but it seems to me to be *labantem*.

Credere si dignum famae, flagrantia taurus
Investigato fonte lavacra dedit,
Ut solet excussis pugnam praeludere glebis,
Stipite cum rigido cornua prona terit:
Sive deus, faciem mentitus et ora iuvenci,
Noluit ardentis dona latere soli;
Qualis Agenorei rapturus gaudia furti
Per freta virgineum sollicitavit onus.
Ardua non solos deceant miracula Graios.
Auctorem pecudem fons Heliconis habet:
Elicitas simili credamus origine lymphas,
Musarum ut latices ungula fodit equi.
Haec quoque Pieriis spiracula comparat antris
Carmine Messallae nobilitatus ager;
Intrantemque capit discedentemque moratur
Postibus adfixum dulce poema sacris.
Hic est, qui primo seriem de Consule ducit,
Usque ad Publicolas si redeamus avos:
Hic et praefecti nutu praetoria rexit.
Sed menti et linguae gloria maior inest.
Hic docuit, qualem poscat facundia sedem,
Ut bonus esse velit quisque, disertus erit.

Roscida puniceo fulsere crepuscula caelo:
Pandimus obliquo lintea flexa sinu.

255 *fragrantia* Sitzmann and Barth. *Taurus* V. *thaunis* R.

257 *solent—grebis* R. *ad pugnam excussis* Burm.

258 Baehrens suggests, but does not adopt, *dum* for *cum*.

In V opposite this line is an erased word hard to read, probably *thyreus*. Perhaps the word really refers to line 261, and is a comment on *Agenorei*. Thyrea was the chief town of Cynuria, on the borders of Laconia and Argolis; and *thyreus* might be given as an explanation of *Agenorei* by some one who thought the Agenor referred to was King of Argos. Agenor, the father of Europa, however, was a Phoenician, and his city, according to Vergil A. 1, 338, was Carthage; so when the mistake was noticed, the word was naturally struck out. The word might, indeed, be a variant for Tyrius; but in that case it is not so easy to see why it should have been struck out.

259 *decus* R. *arma* VR. *ora* B. *Iuvenci* V.

261 *Quale age norei raptunis* R. *furti* VRB. *tecti* Baehr.

262 *virginium* R.

263 *solum—graiis* R. Graevius thinks lines 263 to 266 are the words of the poem attributed to Messala below, and that they should be placed after line 270.

264 *A autorem—eliconis* R.

If one may trust report, these baths a bull
First gave to light by tracking out the fount
When rubbing on hard stumps his down-bent horns,
As is a bull's wont, preluding a fight,
Tossing aloft the sods; or else a god,
Taking the form and semblance of a bull,
Would not permit the gift of the warm soil
To lie concealed; even as he—that god—
Agenor's daughter's ravisher, who bore,
Bull-shaped, his virgin burthen o'er the sea.
Wonders beyond belief let Greeks not claim
As all their own. The fount of Helicon
Has for its origin an animal;
Let us believe these waters were drawn forth
With like beginnings, as the horse's hoof
Dug up the waters of the Muses' spring.
The district, famous through Messalla's verse,
These holes compares with the Pierian caves,
And the sweet poem to the sacred doors
Attached, attracts his eye who enters there,
And holds him lingering when he would depart.
This is the man who traces his descent
From the First Consul, if we backward go
To his fathers the Publicolae—he too,
A Prefect, ruled the Palace with his nod;
But greater glory have his mind and tongue.
He taught the abode that eloquence demands;
Each man grows eloquent who aims at good.

As dewy dawn across the purple sky
Began to shine we spread our swelling sails

265 *Elicitas* VRB. Baehrens reads *En medicas*, and adds the note: 'nec elici *origine* dici potest et Musarum laticibus diserte thermarum aquae opponantur oportet; pulchre autem haec oppositio fit per alliterationem.' *Nymphas* VB. *lymphas*, a correction made by Castalio, is also the reading of R.

266 *ut* does not occur in VRB; it was added by Damm. *fudit* Graevius.

267 *Nec* R. *pieriis* V. *undis* Schrader.

268 *Messalae* V. *messali* R.

269 *rapit* Burm. *discedentemque* VB. *discedentem* (without *que*) R. *decedentemque* Baehr.

270 *affixum* RB.

271 *qui mino s. pro cons.* R. *duxit* Kapp.

272 *Publicolas* VR. *Puplicolas* Barth.

273 *prefecti mita pret.* R. *Praefectus* Schrader.

275 *poscat fac. sedem* VR. Schrader reads *legem* for *sedem*; and Mueller, adopting this reading, further changes *poscat* to *ponat*.

277 *Rosida p. luxeṽ* R. *coelo* V.

Paulisper litus fugimus Munione vadosum:
Suspecto trepidant ostia parva salo.
Inde Graviscarum fastigia rara videmus,
Quas premit aestivàe saepe paludis odor:
Sed nemorosa viret densis vicinia lucis,
Pineaque extremis fluctuat umbra fretis.
Cernimus antiquas nullo custode ruinas
Et desolatae moenia foeda Cosae.
Ridiculam cladis pudet inter seria causam
Promere, sed risum dissimulare piget.
Dicuntur cives quondam migrare coacti
Muribus infestos deseruisse lares.
Credere maluerim Pygmaeae damna cohortis
Et coniuratos in sua bella grues.
Haud procul hinc petitur signatus ab Hercule portus.
Vergentem sequitur mollior aura diem.
Inter castrorum vestigia sermo retexit
Sardoam Lepido praecipitante fugam.
Littore namque Cosae cognatos depulit hostes
Virtutem Catuli Roma secuta ducis.
Ille tamen Lepidus peior, civilibus armis
Qui gessit sociis impia bella tribus:
Qui libertatem Mutinensi Marte receptam
Obruit auxiliis, urbe pavente, novis.
Insidias paci moliri tertius ausus,
Tristibus excepit congrua fata reis.

279 *littus* RB. *munione* V. *numione* R.
280 *hostia* RB. *solo* B. *Suspenso* . . . *solo* i.e. excavato litore Crus. *crepitant* for *trepidant* Wesseling, as if the mouth of the river was rocky, not sandy. *trepidant horia parva salo* Damm; but *horia* is fem. sing. and has the first syllable short.
281 *graviscarum* V.
282 Baehrens says '*premit* fortasse glossa est genuini *gravat*, quod ad nomen explicandum poni fere debuit.' *Quas premis aestivae saeve paludis odor* Markland.
283 *numerosa* Leander. *generosa* and *vindemia* Schrader.
286 *menia fęda cosae* R.
287 *Ridicula* R.
288 *risu* R.
291 *pygmeae* VB. *pymee* R.

And bend them to the wind. A little while
We fly the shore by Munio fringed with shoals;
The narrow river-mouth with treacherous surf
Is restless. Next Graviscae's scattered roofs
We sight, which oft the marshy odour taints
In summer, yet the woody neighbourhood
Is green with clustering groves, and shadowing pines
Wave o'er the water's edge. We next descry
The unguarded ruins old and walls decayed
Of Cosa desolate. Ashamed am I
To tell in serious tale the cause absurd
Assigned its ruin; but I would not hide
The laugh. The citizens, 'tis said, were driven
To leave their houses by a plague of rats!
I could more readily believe the losses
Of the Pygmean host, and that the cranes
Conspired to wage their own accustomed wars.
Not far from this we make the harbour named
From Hercules. There as the day declines
Toward eve, the wind falls. We in his wrecked camp
Discourse the headlong flight of Lepidus
To Sardo; for from Cosa's shore did Rome,
Following as leader the brave Catulus,
Drive off her enemy of kindred blood.
Baser that Lepidus who unnatural war
In civil arms with three confederates waged,
Who, to the terror of the City, crushed
With reinforcements new the liberty
Recovered by the fight at Mutina.
The third so named dared to contrive a plot
Against the peace, and earned the unhappy fate

292 *coniuratas* RB.
296 *Sardā l. praecipitanti* R.
297 *casae* R.
299 *pedidus* R. It is usual to punctuate here with comma after *peior* and no stop after *armis*, but Baehrens removes the comma after *peior* and puts it after *armis*.
300 Baehrens suspects a corruption, and proposes *Accendit* for *Qui gessit*. Perhaps adopting Baehrens' punctuation of last line we might read *Concussit*, 'excited,' 'roused to activity.' Cf. Verg. A. 7, 338 *fecundum concute pectus*. Petr. poet. 124, 288 *tu concute plebem*. Juv. 10, 328 *se Concussere ambae*.
301 *mutinensi marte* V. *marti* R.
302 *urbe* R. *orbe* Damm. *gemente* R. *favente* B. *urbe patente* Heins.
303 *Ins. paucis* R.
304 *Tribus exc.* R. *exegit* Heins.

Quartus, Caesareo dum vult inrepere regno,
Incesti poenam solvit adulterii.
Nunc quoque—sed melius de nostris fama queretur :
Iudex posteritas semina dira notet.
Nominibus certos credam decurrere mores ?
Moribus an potius nomina certa dari ?
Quidquid id est, mirus Latiis annalibus ordo,
Quod Lepidum toties reccidit ense malum.

Nec dum discussis pelago permittimur umbris.
Natus vicino vertice ventus adest.
Tenditur in medias mons Argentarius undas
Ancipitique iugo caerula curva premit.
Transversos colles bis ternis milibus artat ;
Circuitu ponti ter duodena patet :
Qualis per geminos fluctus Ephyreius Isthmos
Ionias bimari littore findit aquas.
Vix circumvehimur sparsae dispendia rupis ;
Nec sinuosa gravi cura labore caret :
Mutantur toties vario spiramina flexu,
Quae modo profuerant vela, repente nocent.
Eminus Igilii silvosa cacumina miror :
Quam fraudare nefas laudis honore suae.

305 *inrepere* (with the *in* crossed out) V. *irrep.* B. *lecto* or *tecto* Schrader.
307 *Hunc quoque sed melius* or *Nunc quoque, Di melius* Burm. *de notis* Barth. *queratur* Damm.
308 *Vindex* Heins. *prosteritas* R.
309 *meres* R.
311 *Quicquid* (*c* from *d*) *idē* R. *latiis* V.
312 *totiens* R. *recidit* (with (..) opposite line, but no correction) V. *recidit* R. *rescidit* Heins.
313 *decessis* V (probably) R ; but the reading of V may perhaps be *decussis* (so at least I first read it). *discussis* Almeloveen. *detersis* Heins. *pelago permittitur* VRB. *permittimur* after Castalio is the vulgate, and is taken in the sense of *committimur*. To this use Baehrens objects, and himself reads *pelagus permittitur*. He also reads *decessis*.
314 *vertice venti* R. *vortice* B.
315 *ad medias non arg.* R.
316 *rura* for *curva* Leand.
317 Baehrens conjectures *calles* for *colles*. *denis m. arctat* R. *millibus arctat* V. *effert* for *artat* Leand.
318 *ponti qui duod.* R.
319 Baehrens suspects *fluctus*, and

Of men impeached. The fourth in his desire
By stealth to enter on the Imperial sway
For an unnatural adultery paid
The penalty. Now, too—but future fame
Will prove the better critic of our times;
Let coming ages judge the offending stock.
Am I to think that certain characters
Descend from names, or rather certain names
Are given to characters? Howe'er that be,
A strange rotation 'tis in Latian annals
Disaster from the sword of the Lepidi
So oft recurs.

Night's shades yet undispelled,
To ocean we commit ourselves. A breeze,
Born of the neighbouring hill-tops, helps our way.
Mount Argentarius stretches 'mid the waves
And bounds the blue bays with its twofold ridge.
Across the hills the path 's but twice three miles,
Thrice twelve the circuit round the ocean-shore;
Just as the Ephyreian Isthmus cleaves
Between twin waves the Ionian deep with shores
Washed by two seas. With much ado we steer
Round the long course of scattered crags, nor lacks
Our winding steersmanship laborious toil;
So oft the wind is changed by many a curve,
The sails which now assisted now retard.
Wondering, Igilium's wooded heights I view
Afar, and must not cheat them of the praise

suggests *ductus* for it. Perhaps we should read *geminos flexus*, i.e. the Corinthian and the Saronic gulfs. Cf. Mela 2, 3 *flexus Mecybernaeus*, 'the bay or gulf of Mecyberna.' *ephireius isthos* R.

320 *litore* V. *littore* B. *finit* Burm.

321 *circumvehitur* sc. navis Reusner.

322 *simiosa* R. *cura* VRB; for this use of *cura* cf. line 429. *terra* Baehr., which Mueller adopts. *ripa* Burm. *rura . . . carent* Alm. Perhaps we should read *curva*, 'the windings of the shore.' It is true that the substantive *curvum* is usually found in the metaphorical sense, 'that which is wrong'; but the familiar use of the adjective in the literal sense—e.g. with *litora*—which is too common to need illustration, might lead to the similar literal use of the substantive. We should then, of course, read *carent* for *caret*.

323 *toties* V *totiens* R.

324 *modo* V. *non* B. *nunc* Simler. *iam* Barth.

325 *sinuosa* Reusner.

326 *nephas* R.

Haec proprios nuper tutata est insula saltus
Sive loci ingenio seu domini genio;
Gurgite cum modico victricibus obstitit armis,
Tamquam longinquo dissociata mari.
Haec multos lacera suscepit ab urbe fugatos;
Hic fessis posito certa timore salus.
Plurima terreno populaverat aequora bello
Contra naturam classe timendus eques.
Unum mira fides vario discrimine portum
Tam prope Romanis, tam procul esse Getis.

Tangimus Umbronem: non est ignobile flumen;
Quod tuto trepidas excipit ore rates:
Tam facilis pronis semper patet alveus undis,
In pontum quoties saeva procella ruit.
Hic ego tranquillae volui succedere ripae:
Sed nautas, avidos longius ire, sequor.
Sic festinantem ventusque diesque reliquit;
Nec proferre pedem nec revocare licet.
Litorea noctis requiem metamur arena:
Dat vespertinos myrtea silva focos:
Parvula subiectis facimus tentoria remis;
Transversus subito culmine contus erat.

Lux aderat: tonsis progressi stare videmur:
Sed cursum prorae terra relicta probat.
Occurrit chalybum memorabilis Ilva metallis,
Qua nihil uberius Norica gleba tulit;

327 *Nec . . . tuta est* R.
329 *victoribus obstit* R.
331 *Nec* R.
335 *vera fides* or *mira vides* or *Unum, mira quies vario discrimine, portum* &c. Burm.
338 *tuto* V. *toto* Wernsdorf, following the editors before Burmann, who, he says, have this reading. Burmann and Zumpt, however, have *tuto*.
339 *Nam* for *Tam* Burm. *pronis* is wanting in R.
340 *quoties* V. *quotiens* R.
341 *Hinc* for *Hic* Klapp.
342 *navitas—ire* R.
343 *festinantem* VRB. *festinantes* (cf.

Due to their fame. This isle defended lately
Its forests, whether by its native strength
Or by its master's tutelary god,
When, with but scanty waters girt, it braved
Assault of conquering arms, as though it stood
Far from the land severed by spreading seas.
Many expelled the shattered town it housed;
Here safe and fearless might the weary rest.
Seas oft did cavalry, 'gainst nature's laws
By water formidable, with terrene war
Lay waste. It is a marvel to believe,
That the same harbour, in two different ways,
So near a refuge for the Romans was,
And yet so far beyond the Getae's reach.

At the Umbro we put in—no puny stream,
Its entrance safe receives our frighted ships,
So easy access doth its channel spread
With waters smooth, as oft as a fierce gale
Bursts on the sea. Here on the peaceful shore
Fain had I run, but onward still the crew
Desired to journey, and I with them speed.
So as I hasten, breeze and daylight failed
And neither back nor forward may we wend.
A sleeping-place we choose upon the strand,
A myrtle-grove supplies our evening fire.
We frame our little tents on propping oars—
The boat-hook crossed provides a hasty roof.

Day dawned. We row, but seem to stand at rest,
Yet the receding land attests we move.
Elba we meet, for mines of iron famed,
Than which not Noric sod bore richer yield,

342) Schrader. *reliquit* VRB. *relinquit* Wernsd. Perhaps we should read *relinquunt*. The perfect of the MSS., however, is supported by the passage Verg. A. 3, 568 sq., quoted in the E. N., where in a similar description a perfect is followed by a present.

345 *Littorea* VRB. *Litorea* Baehr.

346 *mirtea sylva* R.
347 *subrectis* Heins. *rentoria* B.
348 *culmina* Barth. *coctus* R.
349 *tensis progressu st. videmus* R.
350 *prone* R.
351 *calybā* V. *calibum m. silva* R.
352 *Qua mihi ub. n. terra* R. *nihil* VB. *nil* Damm.

Non Biturix largo potior strictura camino,
Nec quae Sardonico cespite massa fluit.
Plus confert populis ferri fecunda creatrix
Quam Tartessiaci glarea fulva Tagi.
Materies vitiis aurum letale parandis:
Auri caecus amor ducit in omne nefas:
Aurea legitimas expugnant munera taedas,
Virgineosque sinus aureus imber emit:
Auro victa fides munitas decipit urbes:
Auri flagitiis ambitus ipse furit.
At contra ferro squallentia rura coluntur,
Ferro vivendi prima reperta via est.
Saecula semideum, ferrati nescia Martis,
Ferro crudeles sustinuere feras.
Humanis manibus non sufficit usus inermis,
Si non sint aliae ferrea tela manus.
His mecum pigri solabar taedia venti:
Dum resonat variis vile celeuma modis.

Lassatum cohibet vicina Faleria cursum,
Quamquam vix medium Phoebus haberet iter.
Et tum forte hilares per compita rustica pagi
Mulcebant sacris pectora fessa iocis:
Illo quippe die tandem renovatus Osiris
Excitat in fruges germina laeta novas.

354 *Sardonio* B. *Sardoo* Burm.
355 *foecunda* V. *secunda* R. *cicatrix* Barth, with what meaning it is hard to see.
356 *Tartesiaci* V. *tartasiaci* R. *Tartessiaci* B. *Tartesiaci* Baehr.
357 *lethale* V. *laetale* B. *letale* vulgo. *fatale* Burm. *ferale* Baehr.
358 *nephas* R.
359 *expunat* R.
360 *aure imber* R. *hymber* B. *init* Schrader.
361 *decipit* V. Perhaps we should read *deripit* or *diripit*, cf. Liv. 37, 32. Caes. B.C. 1, 21, 2 *veritus ne ... oppidum diriperetur*.
362 *Aurei* R. Perhaps we should read *Auro* ''tis owing to gold that intrigue, thirst for office, itself plunges madly into crime.'
363 *squalentia* R.
364 *via est* V.
365 *inertia martis* with *nescia* in margin V. *nescia* RB.
366 *subtinuere* R.
369 *sanabar* B.
370 *resonant* R. *celeusma* Alm.
371 *Lassatum* VRB. *Laxatum* Cast. *Lassantem* Baehr.
372 *obiret* Heins. *agebat* Burm.
373 *ilares* RB. *fagi* VRB. *pagi* Cast. *vagi* Simler in violation of

Nor Aquitaine with smelting furnaces,
Nor molten masses from Sardinian ore
The fecund womb of iron blesses more
The world than Spanish Tagus' golden sands.
Gold is the deadly origin of vice;
Blind love of gold leads men to every crime;
Gold gifts the wedded woman's virtue storm;
A shower of gold the maid's embraces buys;
Fenced cities faith subdued by gold deceives;
By gold intrigue runs riot in excess.
But 'tis by iron thriftless fields are tilled,
By iron first a means of life was found:
The demigods, who knew not mail-clad war,
By iron stayed the attacks of savage beasts.
Their unarmed use suffices not men's hands,
If iron weapons lend not other hands.
Thus I beguiled the dull wind's tediousness,
While sounds the boatswain's changeful hackneyed song.

The near Faleria stops our weary way,
Though hardly half his course had Phoebus won;
And then by chance a merry village-train
Beside the country cross-roads cheered their hearts
With sacred festival; for 'twas the day
When, back to life restored, Osiris wakes
The sprouting buds to fashion plants anew.

metre. *facti* Kapp. Perhaps we should read *sagi*. The adjective *sagus, a, um* 'presaging,' 'prophetic' occurs with *aves* in Stat. Achil. 1, 519, with *clangores* Id. Th. 8, 204, and is perhaps here used as a substantive 'diviner,' 'soothsayer,' just as the feminine *saga* often is. *Pagi* is far the most probable of the emendations hitherto proposed, but the fact of its being plural is against it, for the context would rather require the singular *pagus*, though of course several *pagi* may have assembled at Faleria. The unfamiliar *sagi* would easily be changed to the familiar *fagi*, especially since *s* and *f* are frequently confused, as we have seen on lines 206, 238, 355. It is not so easy to understand how *pagi*, if the original reading, should have become *fagi*, a word which has neither sense nor similarity of initial letter to suggest it. Kapp thinks lines 373, 4 should be placed after 375, 6 and proposes *Nam* for *Et* in 373.

374 *Mulcebat* R.

375 *revocatus* VR. *renovatus* B. *osiris* V. *osyris* B.

376 *Exc. iam fr.* R. Perhaps we should read the perfect *exciit* for *excitat*. If the present is retained, the festival is alluded to as annually recurring. If

Egressi villam petimus lucoque vagamur;
Stagna placent saepto deliciosa vado.
Ludere lascivos intra vivaria pisces
Gurgitis inclusi laxior unda sinit.
Sed male pensavit requiem stationis amoenae
Hospite conductor durior Antiphate.
Namque loci querulus curam Iudaeus agebat,
Humanis animal dissociale cibis.
Vexatos frutices, pulsatas imputat algas,
Damnaque libatae grandia clamat aquae.
Reddimus obscaenae convicia debita genti,
Quae genitale caput propudiosa metit:
Radix stultitiae: cui frigida sabbata cordi,
Sed cor frigidius relligione sua.
Septima quaeque dies turpi damnata veterno,
Tamquam lassati mollis imago dei.
Caetera mendacis deliramenta catastae
Nec pueros omnes credere posse reor.
Atque utinam numquam Iudaea subacta fuisset
Pompeii bellis imperiisque Titi!
Latius excisae pestis contagia serpunt,
Victoresque suos natio victa premit.

the perfect be adopted, the special occasion only is referred to.

377 *petimus lutoque vagamus* R. *petimusque luthoque* B. *ludoque* i.e. ludendo, ludentes Barth and Damm. *ludoque vacamus* i.e. ludo nos damus Wernsd., on which see E. N. *lateque* Heins.

378 *septo* VB. *delitiosa* RB. *desidiosa* Observ. Misc. quoted by Wernsd.

379 *inter* VRB. *intra* Schrader.

380 *facit* Damm.

381 *pensavit* V. *p̄savit* R. Baehrens conjectures *turbavit*. Perhaps we should read *pulsavit* either in sense, 'disquiet,' 'disturb': cf. Claud. in Eutr. 2 prooem. 51, *Improbe, quid pulsas muliebribus astra querelis, Quod tibi sub Cypri littore parta quies?*—or in sense, 'drive away': cf. Claud. vi. Cons. Hon. 465 *nostra pericula tendit Posthabitis pulsare suis.*

382 *convictor* Heins. *durior* V. *durior* (*d* from *a*) *antiphate* R. *dirior* 'more terrible,' 'grimmer,' Drakenborch. *crudior* Muell. Baehrens gives *durior* in his text, but conjectures *torvior*. Perhaps we should read *acrior*. This would account for the original *a* that has been changed to *d* in R. See E. N.

383 *loqui* R.

385 *pulsatas* R. *calcatas computat* Heins.

386 *Damnaque* R.

387 *Redimus obscene* R. *osc* crossed

Landing, we seek the town and roam the wood;
The ponds delight us, sweet, with shoals begirt.
The waters, spread within the enclosed flood,
Allow the sportive fish amid the pools
To dart and play. But he who leased the spot,
A harsher landlord than Antiphates,
Made this reposeful loveliness pay dear.
For a sour Jew was guardian of the spot,
An animal that spurns at human food.
He charges for the shrubs disturbed, the wrack
Struck with our sticks, and clamours that his loss
Is grievous in the water that we drink.
We fling fit answer to the filthy race
That circumcision shamelessly upholds—
Dire folly's root; cold sabbaths charm their heart;
And yet their heart is colder than their creed.
Each seventh day to shameful sloth 's condemned,
Effeminate picture of a wearied god!
Their other fancies from the mart of lies
Methinks not even all boys could believe.
Would that Judea ne'er had been subdued
By Pompey's wars and under Titus' sway!
The plague's contagion all the wider spreads;
The conquered presses on the conquering race.

out, and then *obscaenae* V. *obscenae* B.

388 *propudiosa* corrected from *praepudiosa* V.

389 *stulditie* R. *sabata* R.

390 *religione* R. *sua est* B.

391 *Optima* R.

392 *dei* V with a small *d*, not a capital, as in Muell.

394 Baehrens pronounces *omnes* corrupt, and conjectures *parvos* or *teneros*, which words, however, depart very widely from the text. R gives *puer ones* (*n* on erasure). Perhaps we should read *et anus*, 'not even boys and old women.' *Nec* in this line is equivalent to *ne . . . quidem*, and would apply to the whole compound phrase *pueros et anus*. A copyist who did not understand the connexion, on finding *et*, where, as he would suppose, *nec* should correspond to the preceding *nec*, would naturally omit the *et*; and as the asyndeton then would cause a difficulty, and, moreover, *anus* without *et* would no longer scan, the reading *omnes* would be an easy emendation, though giving a weak and jejune sense. For credulity attributed to old women cf. Cic. Tusc. 1, 21, 48 *quae est anus tam delira, quae ista timeat?*

395 *iudea capta f.* R.

396 *Pompei* R. *imperiisque* V. *imperioque* B. The latter Baehrens prefers, thinking the plural came from assimilation to *bellis*.

397 *gentis* for *pestis* Damm.

398 *Vectoresque* R.

Adversus surgit Boreas : sed nos quoque remis
Surgere certamus, dum tegit astra dies.
Proxima securum reserat Populonia litus,
Qua naturalem ducit in arva sinum.
Non illic positas extollit in aethera moles
Lumine nocturno conspicienda Pharos :
Sed speculam validae rupis sortita vetustas,
Qua fluctus domitos arduus urget apex,
Castellum geminos hominum fundavit in usus,
Praesidium terris indiciumque fretis.
Agnosci nequeunt aevi monumenta prioris :
Grandia consumpsit moenia tempus edax.
Sola manent interceptis vestigia muris :
Ruderibus latis tecta sepulta iacent.
Non indignemur mortalia corpora solvi.
Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.

Laetior hic nostras crebrescit fama per aures :
Consilium Romam paene redire fuit.
Hic praefecturam sacrae cognoscimus urbis
Delatam meritis, dulcis amice, tuis.
Optarem verum complecti carmine nomen,
Sed quosdam refugit regula dura pedes.
Cognomen versu dederis, carissime Rufi :
Illo te dudum pagina nostra canit.

399 *boreas* V.
400 *cum* VRB. *dum* Heins. *tegis* R.
401 *pop. dictus* R. *littus* B.
402 *ducis* R.
403 *ad* for *in* Damm.
404 *pharos* V.
405 *speculum* VRB, but V has *speculam 'f'* in margin.
407 *fraudavit* B.
408 *inditumque* R.
409 *monimenta* B.
410 *consunsit* R.
412 *Ruderibusque latis* R. *late* Barth. *Ruderibusque altis* Kapp.
413 *Neve indignemur* Heins. Damm makes the sentence interrogative *Nos indignemur . . . solvi ?*
415 On page 89[b] of V, after line 414, we find the first three words of 415 *Laetior hic nostras*, with a note in pencil 'Vid. 87,' and in ink *Superius est pagina*, referring back, of course, to page 87, where lines 415 to 420 are given immediately after 242. Lines 421 to 456 are on page 87**. On page 90 of V, line 455 and the first word of 456, *Dirigit*, are repeated ; and then line 457, &c., run on.

Against us Boreas rises; but we with oars
Rise emulous too, while daylight hides the stars.
Next Populonia opens her safe coast,
Where, inland drawn, it forms a natural bay.
No piers are built there rising to the sky
With lighthouse nightly by its lantern seen
Afar; but having got a mighty cliff
To stand as watch-tower where its summit steep
O'erhangs the conquered waves, the men of old
A castle built, to serve a twofold end,
To guard the land and signals give to sea.
No more the monuments of ancient days
Are to be recognized; the ravages
Of time have wasted the great walls away.
Ruined the walls, their lines alone remain.
The houses under wide-spread rubble lie
Entombed. Let 's not lament men's frames dissolve
When we by proofs perceive that towns can die.

Here joyous tidings, spreading, reach our ears,
We well-nigh counselled to return to Rome.
Here learn we that on thy deserts, dear friend,
The Sacred City's Prefecture is bestowed.
Would I might twine thy true name with my verse,
But metre's rigid rule shuns certain feet.
But thou canst give a surname to my lines,
O dearest Rufius, by which name but now
My verse above has celebrated thee.

416 *pene* VRB.

417 *prefecturam* V. *cognovimus*, but with *sci* over *vi* V.

419 For *verum* Castalio reads *veterum*, thinking that in this way Rutilius expresses the name *Volusianus*, because in line 169 he says of Rufius *Qui Volusi antiquo derivat stemmate nomen.*

420 *quodam* R.

421 *versu veneris carissime* VB. *C. venens car.* (omitting *dederis*) R. *dederis* Muell., which Schenkl approves. *capitur* Baehrens, who thinks Mueller's *dederis* inadmissible on account of being subjunctive. He supposes *capitur* was lost before *carissime*, and that *veneris* was then introduced. *versus servet* Damm. *veniat* Wernsd. *Veneri carissime Rufi* Pith. followed by Burmann. *versans* (i.e. saepe commemorans) *Veneris, carissime Rufi* Cast. *serva Veneri* Barth and Schrader. *Cognomen versu, a teneris carissime Rufi* Heinsius, who also makes another conjecture, embracing the next line, see below. Some try to remove the difficulties of the passage by emending the following line 422, e.g. *nullo conclusum*

Festa dies pridemque meos dignata penates
Poste coronato vota secunda colat:
Exornent virides communia gaudia rami:
Provecta est animae portio magna meae.
Sic mihi, sic potius placeat geminata potestas:
Per quem malueram, rursus honore fruor.

Currere curamus velis aquilone reverso,
Cum primum roseo fulsit Eous equo.
Incipit obscuros ostendere Corsica montes,
Nubiferumque caput concolor umbra levat.
Sic dubitanda solet gracili vanescere cornu
Defessisque oculis Luna reperta latet.
Haec ponti brevitas auxit mendacia famae:
Armentale ferunt quippe natasse pecus,
Tempore Cyrnaeas quo primum venit in oras
Forte secuta vagum femina Corsa bovem.

Processu pelagi iam se Capraria tollit.
Squalet lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos Graio cognomine dicunt,
Quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.
Munera fortunae metuunt, dum damna verentur.
Quisquam sponte miser, ne miser esse queat?

(or *non ullo clausum*) *pagina nostra capit* Burm. *Cognomen versu Veneri car. Rufi Illoto* (i.e. rudi et rustico sc. *versu*) or *invito* (in a sense similar to 'invita Minerva') *dudum* Heinsius and Graevius. *vehere est* Keil. Vessereau reads *versu veniet.*

Perhaps we should read *Quod nomen versus patiens*, 'my pages have long since celebrated thee by that name that admits of being used in verse, dear Rufius,' i.e. by the name Rufius, by which he addresses him in 168. Rufius is surely his *nomen*, not his *cognomen*. The reading of R *Cognomen venens carissime Rufi* (omitting *dederis*), which, besides other faults, is a foot short, may perhaps have come from an original *nomen conveniens*, after which *versu* was omitted owing to the similarity of the letters. The *versu veneris* of V may also be a corruption of the same reading.

423 *Festrodies* R.

424 *Post cor.* R.

425 *Exornant* with *e* over *a* V. *Exornet virides conm.* R.

426 *Provecta est* V.

428 *mallueram* and *fruar* B.

429 *certamus* or *conamur* Heins. *aquilonis reverso* /// with perhaps an *s* under the erasure R.

431 *oscuros* R.

432 For *umbra* Baehrens suggests *aura* or *unda*.

Now let a festal day, like that which graced
Long since my house with wreathèd doorposts, pay
Its tribute to fulfilment of my hopes;
Let green boughs decorate our common joy.
One who a great part is of mine own life,
Has honour found. So rather to me, so
Be welcome an official power renewed.
Once more official honour I enjoy
Through one whose honour 's dearer than mine own.

The north-wind veering, carefully with sails
We run before the breeze when first the star
Of morning flames forth with its rosy steeds.
Her misted mountain-summits Corsica
Unfolds, and the like-tinted shadow seems
To lift still higher its cloud-encumbered crest.
So, fitful, fades with slender horn the moon
And still lies hid though found by straining eyes.
Here the short strip of sea has given growth
To popular fiction; for 'tis said a herd
Of cattle swam it, when a woman first,
Corsa by name, seeking a straying bull,
By chance arrived on the Cyrnaean shores.

Now as we move Capraria lifts itself
Out of the sea; squalid the isle and filled
With men who shun the light; they dub themselves
"Monks," with a Grecian name; because they wish
To dwell alone, observed by none. They dread
The gifts of Fortune, while her ills they fear.
Who to shirk pain would choose a life of pain?

433 *Hic* with *H* crossed out and *S* in margin V. *cornis* R.
434 *repente* mentioned by Castalio. Baehrens thinks something has been lost before 435.
435 *Nec* R. *fama* (ablative) Castalio.
436 *quippe natasse* VRB. *quem perarasse* Muell. which Schenkl approves. Baehrens conjectures *quem penetrasse*. Perhaps we should read *quem* (sc. pontum) *peragrasse*.
437 Bachrens suspects *Tempore* and suggests *Casu* for it. *cyrnaeas* V. *cirneos—horas* R.
438 *foemina* R.
439 *craparia* R.
440 *Squallet* VR.
441 *monacos* VB. *graio* V. *graeco* Damm.
444 *Quisquam est* Alm. *Quis fit* or *Quisnam est* Burm. *Quisquam an* Heins. Crusius removes note of interrogation, and reads *Quisque est sponte miser*, nempe quisque ex his monachis.

Quaenam perversi rabies tam stulta cerebri,
Dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati?
Sive suas repetunt factorum ergastula poenas,
Tristia seu nigro viscera felle tument,
Sic nimiae bilis morbum assignavit Homerus
Bellerophonteis sollicitudinibus:
Nam iuveni offenso saevi post tela doloris
Dicitur humanum displicuisse genus.

In Volaterranum, vero Vada nomine, tractum
Ingressus dubii tramitis alta lego.
Despectat prorae custos clavumque sequentem
Dirigit et puppim voce monente regit.
Incertas gemina discriminat arbore fauces
Defixasque offert limes uterque sudes:
Illis proceras mos est adnectere lauros
Conspicuas ramis et fruticante coma,
Ut praebente algam densi symplegade limi
Servet inoffensas semita clara notas.

Illic me rapidus consistere Corus adegit,
Qualis silvarum frangere lustra solet.
Vix tuti domibus saevos toleravimus imbres.
Albini patuit proxima villa mei.
Namque meus, quem Roma meo subiunxit honori,
Per quem iura meae continuata togae.
Non exspectatos pensavit laudibus annos;
Vitae flore puer, sed gravitate senex.

445 *pervers is* (the second *er* on an erasure)—*carebris* R.
446 *ne bona* R. *tot mala* for *nec bona* Burm.
447 *fatorum* with *factorū* *f* in margin V. *ex fato* B. I have adopted *factorum* in the text, on which see E. N., where the possible conjecture *reddunt* for *repetunt* is also discussed.
450 *Bellorophonicis* R. *Bellerophontaeis* B.
451 *offense sevi* R.
453 *Volateranum* V. *rolaterr.* R.
455 *Dispectat* Barth. *danumque frequentem* R.
456 *Dirigit* VRB. *Derigit* Baehr. *movente* R. See C. N. on 415.

What madness of a brain diseased so fond
As, fearing evil, to refuse all good.
Whether as convicts for their evil deeds
They claim the punishments that are their due,
Or with black bile their gloomy hearts are swollen;
Thus to the malady of too much bile
Did Homer trace Bellerophon's despairs;
Mankind were hateful to the outraged youth
After his cruel sorrow's wound.

The realm
Of Volaterra entering, rightly named
"The Shallows," through the treacherous channel's deeps
My way I thread. The watchman at the bow
Looks down, directs the helm, and guides the stern
With warning cries. The boundary on each side
The doubtful entrance marks by bushes twain,
And shows along it fixed a line of stakes.
To these the custom is tall laurel-plants
To fasten, easily visible afar
By reason of their boughs and foliage thick,
So that though shifting shallows of dense mud
Obtrude their sea-wrack, yet a passage clear
May keep uninjured marks to show the way.

There by a raging west-wind, such as breaks
The forest-thickets, I was forced to pause.
Scarce in a house could we the fierce rain bear.
His neighbouring mansion at our service put
My friend Albinus. Him I call my friend
As Rome made him in office my successor,
Through whom my civil rule was still sustained.
He by deserts what years would bring supplied,
In age a boy, in weight and worth a man.

457 *Incertus* VRB. *Incertas* Cast. *Insertus* Barth.
458 *Defissasque o. limis* R. *limes* VB (which Schrader keeps and changes *uterque* to *utrimque*). *limus* Baehr.
459 *annectere* R.
461 *preb. algam d. simpl.* R. *viam* V. *algam* B. *symplegmate* Zumpt. Wernsdorf suggests *Et* for *Ut* and *Servat* for *Servet* in next line. See E. N.
463 *rapidus* VRB. *rabidus* Muell., which Schenkl approves. *chorus* VR.
464 *silvarum* V. *sylvarum fragnere* R.
465 *tolleravimus umbres* R.
467 *dum roma* R. *Roma* V.
469 *exp.* R.

Mutua germanos iunxit reverentia mores,
Et favor alternis crevit amicitiis.
Praetulit ille meas, cum vincere posset, habenas:
At decessoris maior amore fuit.

Subiectas villae vacat aspectare salinas:
Namque hoc censetur nomine salsa palus,
Qua mare terrenis declive canalibus intrat,
Multifidosque lacus parvula fossa rigat.
Ast ubi flagrantes admovit Sirius ignes,
Cum pallent herbae, cum sitit omnis ager:
Tum cataractarum claustris excluditur aequor,
Ut fixos latices torrida duret humus.
Concipiunt acrem nativa coagula Phoebum,
Et gravis aestivo crusta calore coit;
Haud aliter quam cum glacie riget horridus Hister
Grandiaque adstricto flumine plaustra vehit.
Rimetur solitus naturae expendere causas,
Inque pari dispar fomite quaerat opus:
Vincta fluenta gelu concepto sole liquescunt,
Et rursus liquidae sole gelantur aquae.

O, quam saepe malis generatur origo bonorum!
Tempestas dulcem fecit amara moram:
Victorinus enim, nostrae pars maxima mentis,
Congressu explevit mutua vota suo.
Errantem Tuscis considere compulit agris
Et colere externos capta Tolosa lares.

471 *vinxit* R. *mores* VRB. *amores* Baehr.
472 After *favor* a word is erased, and over it is written *alternis* R.
474 *Ad* (with *nte* over *d*) *decessoris* V. *An dec.* R. *Praedecess.* B. *At decess.* Zumpt.
475 *Subjectus mille vocat* R.
476 *Namque* with *m* erased, and *n* written over it V.
479 *Syrius* V.
480 *Quum—cum* R. *squalent* Heins.
481 *Cum* VRB. *Tum* Simler. *catharactarum* V.
482 *horrida* VRB, but V has *torrida ·f·* in margin.
483 *phoebum* V.
485 *Had* (with *u* written above)—*·quum gl. r. homdus hister* R. *hister* V. *Ister* B.

Mutual respect our kindred natures joined,
And favour grew through love of each for each.
He, though he might have swayed, preferred my reins,
But he was greater through the love he bore
His predecessor.

Leisurely we view
The salt-pans near his house; for 'tis for them
The salt marsh is esteemed, where, running down
Through channels in the land, the sea invades
And a small trench laves many-parted ponds.
But when the dog-star plies his burning fires,
When grass grows sear, and all the land is parched,
Then is the sea by sluices shut away
So that the parched ground may solidify
The waters still. The natural incrustations
Catch the hot sun, and by the summer-heat
The heavy crust of salt coagulates;
Even as the Danube rude stiffens with ice
And bears big waggons on its frost-bound stream.
Let him who loves to weigh the cause of things
Seek and enquire the reason of effect
So different in element the same;
The frost-bound streams melt when they feel the sun;
The liquid waters in the sun grow hard.

How oft does evil prove the source of good!
The unwelcome storm enforced a sweet delay;
For Victorinus, great part of my soul,
In meeting me our mutual hopes fulfilled.
Tolosa's fall compelled him to abide
An exile in Etruscan fields and dwell
In foreign home. Nor was it only in dole

486 *abstricto* R.

487 *solitas natura* VRB. *solitus naturae* Castalio. *solitus naturam* Baehr.

488 *queret* R.

489 *uncta*, but margin cut off on which was another letter, perhaps *J* or *V*, of which a slight trace remains V. *Iuncta* B. *Iucta* R. *Vincta* Cast. *conspecto* VRB. *concepto* (cf. 483) Baehr. *quiescunt* R.

490 *liquide* (*e* on erasure) R.

493 *pars* VRB. *laus* or *spes*, Baehr. *mentis* VRB. *gentis* Burmann, followed by Baehrens.

495 *Thuscis* V. *thuscis* R.

496 *Excolere* VRB; over *x* of *Excolere* V has the usual mark of reference to a correction, but no correction is given. Perhaps it was on the part of the margin here cut off. *Et colere* Cast.

Nec tantum duris nituit sapientia rebus:
Pectore non alio prosperiora tulit.
Conscius Oceanus virtutum, conscia Thyle,
Et quaecumque ferox arva Britannus arat:
Qua praefectorum vicibus frenata potestas
Perpetuum magni faenus amoris habet.
Extremum pars illa quidem discessit in orbem,
Sed tamquam media rector in urbe fuit.
Plus palmae est illos inter voluisse placere,
Inter quos minor est displicuisse pudor.
Illustris nuper sacrae comes additus aulae
Contempsit summos ruris amore gradus.
Hunc ego complexus ventorum adversa fefelli,
Dum videor patriae iam mihi parte frui.

Lutea protulerat sudos aurora iugales:
Antemnas tendi litoris aura iubet.
Inconcussa vehit tranquillus aplustria flatus,
Mollia securo vela rudente tremunt.
Adsurgit ponti medio circumflua Gorgon
Inter Pisanum Cyrnaicumque latus.
Aversor scopulos, damni monumenta recentis:
Perditus hic vivo funere civis erat.
Noster enim nuper iuvenis maioribus amplis,
Nec censu inferior coniugiove minor,
Impulsus furiis, homines terrasque reliquit,
Et turpem latebram credulus exul adit.

497 Heinsius conjectures *in* before *duris*.
498 *Pectora* B. Heinsius conjectured *Pectora non alius*, but VR have the true reading *Pectore*.
499 *Consulis* B. *Tyle* V. *Thule* B.
500 *quaecunque* VR. *quicunque* B. *quacunque* Heins. *Britanus* B.
501 *profectorum* R.
502 *Perpetui magnum* Burm. *foenus* VRB. *foedus* Heins.
503 *sors illa* Heins. *discessit* VRB. *discedit* Baehr. *urbem* R.
504 *tanquam* V. *medio—orbe* VRB. In R *o* of *orbe* is on an erasure, but not from *u*. *media—urbe* Muell., which Schenkl approves.
505 *palmae est* V. *palmaest* Muell.
506 Baehrens conjectures *pavor*.
507 *aditus* R.
508 *Comptessit* R.
509 *fefellit* R.

His wisdom shone. A happier lot he bore
With spirit unchanged. The ocean to his worth
Can witness bear, Thule can witness bear,
And every field the savage Briton ploughs,
Where his curbed power as Prefect's deputy
Has lasting tribute of affection great.
That spot retired to earth's extremest bound
Yet, as it were in City's midst, he ruled.
It is more glorious to have striven to please
Those whom to have failed to please is less of shame.
Though lately to the sacred court attached
An Honoured Count, yet owing to his love
Of country-life he spurned the highest posts.
Embracing him I mocked the adverse winds,
While to myself I seemed to enjoy a part
Of mine own land.

As saffron dawn sped forth
Her team serene and fair, the land-sprung breeze
Bids that the sails be set. A gentle breeze
Bears the stern-ornaments unshaken on,
Sails idly flap, the rigging feels no strain.
The wave-girt Gorgon rises in mid-sea
'Twixt Pisa and Cyrnos, one on either side.
I shun the cliffs, memorials as they are
Of late disaster; one of mine own race
Here perished by a living death. For lately
A high-born youth of our own nation, one
Not lacking wealth or marriage-relatives,
Driven by madness, man and earth forsook
And, as a superstitious exile, sought
A shameful lurking-place. The ill-starred wretch

511 *Luthea* V. *udos* R.
512 *Antemnas* V. *Antennas* RB. *litoris* V. *littoris* B. *unda* B. *lictoris aura* /// R.
513 *apulstria* R.
515 *Ass.* RB. *circumflua* B.
516 *Cyrnaicumque* VB. *circaicumque* R. *Cyrniacumque* Cast. *litus* for *latus* Simler, in violation of metre.
517 *Adversus* VRB. *Adversor* vir doctus in Observ. Miscell. iii. 368, see Mueller and Baehrens. *Adversus scopulus* Pith. *monimenta* B.
518 *Perditus* VRB. *Conditus* Baehrens, who objects to *perditus erat* for *perierat*.
520 *conjugione* R.
521 *terrasque* V. *divosque* B.
522 *agit* VRB. In R *a* is from *e* by first hand. *adit* Burm. *amat* Wernsd.

Infelix putat illuvie caelestia pasci,
Seque premit laesis saevior ipse deis.
Num, rogo, deterior Circeis secta venenis?
Tunc mutabantur corpora, nunc animi.

Inde Triturritam petimus: sic villa vocatur,
Quae latere expulsis insula paene fretis.
Namque manu iunctis procedit in aequora saxis,
Quique domum posuit, condidit ante solum.
Contiguum stupui portum, quem fama frequentat
Pisarum emporio divitiisque maris.
Mira loci facies. Pelago pulsantur aperto
Inque omnes ventos litora nuda patent:
Non ullus tegitur per bracchia tuta recessus,
Aeolias possit qui prohibere minas:
Sed procera suo praetexitur alga profundo,
Molliter offensae non nocitura rati;
Et tamen insanas cedendo interligat undas,
Nec sinit ex alto grande volumen agi.

Tempora navigii clarus reparaverat Eurus:
Sed mihi Protadium visere cura fuit;
Quem qui forte velit certis cognoscere signis,
Virtutis specimen corde videre putet:
Nec magis efficiet similem pictura colore,
Quam quae de meritis mixta figura venit.

523 *Infoelix* R. *coelestia* V.
524 *Deis* V.
525 *Num* VB. *Nuc* R. *Non* Barth. *circeis* V. *Venenis* V.
526 *Tum* R.
527 *trieteritam* R.
528 *Que latet expulsi i. pene feris* R. *latet* VB. *late* Mueller, which Schenkl approves. *iacet* Heins. *patet* Burm. *Qua iacet exclusis* Crusius. Perhaps we should read *latere* for *latet* of the MSS., see E. N. *poene* V. *pene* B.
529 *manu similis procedix in equor* (= *re*) R.
530 *credit ante* R.
531 *turba* for *fama* Schrader.
532 Baehrens says 'malim *deliciisque*, scil. mox descriptis.
533 *pulsatur* VRB. *pulsantur* Barth.
534 Baehrens conjectures *Adque. Iamque—lictora* R. *littora* B.
535 *Non nullus* VR. In V there is a dot under the *n* of *nullus*, but no correction is given. *Nonnullus* B. *Non ullus* Panv. *brachia* V. *bracchia* R.
536 *Aeolias*, with *a* after *i* changed to *i* V. *Eolias posset* R.
537 *protexit alga* R.

Deemed that the spark divine by squalor thrives,
And on his own life laid more cruel stripes
Than might the offended deities themselves.
Less potent is this sect than Circe's drugs?
Then bodies were transformed, but now men's minds.

Hence seek we Triturrita; so is named
A villa, all but island, dashing back
The waters from its side; for, with stones knit
By hand of man, it juts into the sea,
And he who reared the mansion had at first
To build its site. With wondering eyes I viewed
The neighbouring harbour, which its fame has made
Place of resort, as being Pisa's port,
And owing to the riches of the sea.
Wondrous the aspect of the place. The shores
By the open sea are lashed, and naked lie
To all the winds. No inner harbour there
Fenced by protecting piers that might repel
The threats of Æolus; but seaweed tall
Fringes the sea that it has made its own,
Sure to prove harmless to the boat it strikes
Gently, and yet, while yielding, tangles in
The raging surf, and suffers no huge wave
To roll in from the deep.
The clear east-wind
Had brought again the sailing-time, but I
A visit to Protadius yearned to pay.
Whoe'er would know him by sure signs, let him
Think in his heart he sees a paragon
Of virtue; nor will art by tints produce
A likeness more consummate than the shape
That from commingled excellences springs.

539 *caedendo* V. *cedendo* B. *credendo* R. *interrigat* VRB. *interligat* Cast. *intercipit* Burm. *strangulat* Crus. *internicat* Baehr. *unda* R. Perhaps we should read *interiacet*. See E. N. *insanae cedendo iter implicat undae* Heins.
540 *alta* R.
541 *navigiis* R. *repararat Eous* Heins.
542 *protandium* R.
544 *speciem* VRB. *specimen* Cast. *videnti* VRB. *vigente petat* Baehr. *petat* VB. *putat* R. *videre putet* Heins. *corde videnti notet* Burm. *corde videre petat* Kapp.
545 *colorem* VRB. *colore* Zumpt.
546 *mista* B. *missa* Heins. *figua* R.

Aspicienda procul certo prudentia vultu,
Formaque iustitiae suspicienda micat.
Sit fortasse minus, si laudet Gallia civem:
Testis Roma sui praesulis esse potest.
Substituit patriis mediocres Umbria sedes:
Virtus fortunam fecit utramque parem.
Mens invicta viri pro magnis parva tuetur,
Pro parvis animo magna fuere suo.
Exiguus regum victores cespes habebat,
Et Cincinnatos iugera pauca dabant.
Haec etiam nobis non inferiora feruntur
Vomere Serrani Fabriciique foco.
Puppibus ergo meis fida in statione locatis,
Ipse vehor Pisas qua solet ire pedes.
Praebet equos, offert etiam carpenta tribunus,
Ex commilitio carus et ipse mihi,
Officiis regerem cum regia tecta magister,
Armigerasque pii principis excubias.

Alpheae veterem contemplor originis urbem,
Quam cingunt geminis Arnus et Ausur aquis;
Conum pyramidis coeuntia flumina ducunt:
Intratur modico frons patefacta solo:
Sed proprium retinet communi in gurgite nomen,
Et pontum solus scilicet Arnus adit.

547 *certe* R.
548 *Formeque* R.
549 *Quin* for *Sit* Heins. *laudat* R.
551 *Substinuit* R.
552 *utramque* vulgo. *utraque* V (apparently) B, which latter reading Baehrens inclines to think right in the sense 'utroque loco.' This view is also possibly supported by the reading of R *utráque*, though that more probably stands for *utramque*.

On the margin of f. 21 (= 553–566) Hosius says R reads from second hand 'sis memor temporis.'

554 *magna fovetque suo* Heins.
555 *rectores* VRB, which Sitzmann retains, reading *rerum* for *regum*; but Zumpt remarks, though the Romans were at a later period called 'rulers of the world,' *rerum dominos*, such an

Prudence with steadfast face conspicuous
And the esteemëd form of justice shines.
Less it may be if Gallia laud her son;
Rome to her ruler can true witness bear.
Umbria for his home a modest roof
Gave in exchange; his merit has in both
Made his lot one. The man's unconquered spirit
Small things regards as great, and to his mind
Great were as small. A narrow farm embowered
The conquerors of Kings, and a few acres
Furnished the Cincinnati. These late deeds
By us are reckoned not to fall below
Serranus' ploughshare and Fabricius' hearth.
So in safe roadstead anchoring my ships,
I by the accustomed road to Pisa drive.
A tribune, dear to me through comradeship
When I of old by office held control
Over the Palace and the Soldiery
Guarding the pious Emperor, supplies
Horses and offers me conveyances.

I range the old city of Alphean birth,
Which Arno and Ausur circle with twin streams;
The confluent rivers form a tapering cone;
Its open front through scanty space of ground
Is entered, but in the united flood
Arno retains its name, Arno alone
Reaches the ocean. Long ere Fortune placed

expression would be inappropriate in reference to the time of Cincinnatus, Serranus, or Fabricius. *victores* Baehr. *cespes alebat* Schrader.

556 *vicinatos* R.

557 *ferantur* Burm.

558 *Fabritiique* V. *fabritiique* R.

559 *tuta in* R.

562 *conm.* R.

563 *Offitiis* R. *regerem* corrected from *tegerem* V.

565 *Alphaeae* V. *quis nescit* for *contemplor* Reusner.

566 *cingit* Reusner. *armis ausur* without *et* R. *Aesar* Cast. *Auser* Reusner.

567 *Pyramidis* V. *pir. c. flamina* (the first *a* from *u*) R.

569 *conm.* R.

570 *armis addit* R.

Ante diu, quam Troiugenas fortuna penates
Laurentinorum regibus insereret,
Elide deductas suscepit Etruria Pisas,
Nominis indicio testificata genus.
Hic oblata mihi sancti genitoris imago,
Pisani proprio quam posuere foro.
Laudibus amissi cogor lacrimare parentis:
Fluxerunt madidis gaudia maesta genis.
Namque pater quondam Tyrrhenis praefuit arvis,
Fascibus et senis credita iura dedit.
Narrabat, memini, multos emensus honores
Tuscorum regimen plus placuisse sibi:
Nam neque opum curam, quamvis sit magna, sacrarum
Nec ius quaesturae grata fuisse magis:
Ipsam, si fas est, postponere praefecturam
Pronior in Tuscos non dubitabat amor.
Nec fallebatur, tam carus et ipse probatis:
Aeternas grates mutua cura canit;
Constantemque sibi pariter mitemque fuisse,
Insinuant natis qui meminere senes.
Ipsum me gradibus non degenerasse parentis
Gaudent, et duplici sedulitate fovent.

Haec eadem, cum Flaminiae regionibus irem,
Splendoris patrii saepe reperta fides:
Famam Lachanii veneratur numinis instar
Inter terrigenas Lydia tota suos.

571 Schrader, objecting to the expression *penates regibus insereret*, reads *nepotes* for *penates* in this line; as another solution of the difficulty, Zumpt says that *sedibus* has been suggested for *regibus* in the next line. It seems, however, unnecessary to alter the text.
573 *Aulide diductas s. ethruria* R.
574 *in nitio* R.
575–578 omitted in B, probably through an error caused by the close resemblance of *genus* and *genis*, the last words respectively of line 574 and line 578.
577 *lachr.* R.
578 *maditis* R. *moesta* V.
579 *tirrenis* R.
580 *credida cura* R.

The house of Troy among Laurentum's Kings,
Etruria as a colony received
Pisa from Elis, proving by its name
The stock it sprung from. Here was shown to me
The statue of my father well-revered,
Which in their market-place the Pisans raised.
I am moved to tears at my lost parent's fame;
My cheeks with drops of mournful pleasure streamed.
For of the Tuscan province formerly
My sire was Prefect, and administered
The jurisdiction given the Fasces six.
I well remember how he used to tell
That though he many offices had borne
None pleased him more than did his Tuscan sway.
For not the charge of the Sacred Largesses,
Great though it were, nor the authority
Of Quaestorship, had gratified him more.
His love, bent toward the Tuscans, did not shrink
From yielding but a secondary place
To the Prefectureship, if this might be.
Nor erred he, dear as much himself to them
Whom he approved. Their mutual regards
Raise an undying song of gratitude.
How all-consistent was he and how mild
Old men from their remembrance tell their sons.
That from my father's fame I have not fallen
They are glad, and welcome me with two-fold zeal.

Oft when I traversed the Flaminian tracts
This token of my father's worth I have found.
All Lydia adores Lachanius' fame
As of a deity 'mid deities
Born in the land. Firmly the province holds

582 (586) *Thusc.* R.
583 *Namque op. quamvis,* omitting *curam* R.
584 *vis questure* R.
587 *Nef.t.canis* R. *nam* for *tam* Burm.
588 *mit* /// *ra* with erasure, and with *mutua* written above R. *Alternas laudes* Heins.
589 *sibi* omitted R.
590 *vatis* (apparently) *q. m. senes* (the last *s* from *x*) R.
591 *parentem* Burm. *paternis* Heins.
592 *Gaudet* R.
593 *quum famininae* R.
594 *patris* V.
595 *Laecanii* Burm. *nominis* VRB. *numinis* Simler. *istar* R.
596 *In terrigenas lidia t. suas* R:

Grata bonis priscos retinet provincia mores
Dignaque rectores semper habere bonos,
Qualis nunc Decius, Lucilli nobile pignus,
Per Corythi populos arva beata regit.
Nec mirum, magni si redditus indole nati
Felix tam simili posteritate pater.
Huius vulnificis satira ludente Camenis
Nec Turnus potior nec Iuvenalis erit.
Restituit veterem censoria lima pudorem:
Dumque malos carpit, praecipit esse bonos.
Non olim sacri iustissimus arbiter auri
Circumsistentes reppulit harpyias?
Harpyias, quarum discerpitur unguibus orbis,
Quae pede glutineo quod tetigere trahunt:
Quae luscum faciunt Argum, quae Lyncea caecum:
Inter custodum publica furta volant.
Sed non Lucillum Briareia praeda fefellit,
Totque simul manibus restitit una manus.

Iamque Triturritam Pisaea ex urbe reversus,
Aptabam nitido pendula vela Noto:
Cum subitis tectus nimbis insorduit aether;
Sparserunt radios nubila rupta vagos.
Substitimus. Quis enim sub tempestate maligna
Insanituris audeat ire fretis?

terrigenas (cf. Cic. de Div. 2, 23, 50) V. *turrigenas* B. *Tyrrigenas* Damm. *Tyrrhigenas* Wernsd. *Tibrigenas* or *Tybrigenas* Muell., who supports his conjecture by Verg. A. 2, 781 sq. Et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva Inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris. *rurigenas* Heins. *Tyrrhenos* Schrader.

597 *retinent* R.

598 *que* omitted R.

599 *Quale decius* (omitting *nunc*) *luculli* (though in 613 *lucillum*) *n. pi* /// *ȳus* (with *n* under the erasure) R.

600 *corythi* VRB. *Coryti* Panv.

601 *redditur* for *redditus* Heins. *idole* R.

602 *Foelix* R.

603 *satyra* VRB. *ludente* VRB. *livente* Baehr. (cf. Stat. Silv. i. 3, 103). Perhaps we should read *laedente*, see E. N. *Camoenis* V (but with small initial) B.

605 *Instituit* B. *luna* (apparently) R.

607 *Namque olim* Cast. *Nam olim* Simler, in violation of metre. *Nunc—*

To its old ways, being grateful to the good
And always worthy of good governors,
Like Decius, of Lucillus noble pledge,
Who now among the people of Corythus
Those happy regions rules. Nor wonderful
That, by a great son's talents reproduced,
The sire is blessed in child so like himself.
Nor Juvenal nor Turnus shall excel
His Satire sporting in its stinging verse.
The Censor's file the antique modesty
Has brought again; by censuring the bad
It teaches to be good. Did not of old
The most just Steward of the Sacred Largesses
Repulse the Harpies round him standing? Harpies,
By claws of whom the world is torn to shreds,
Who with tenacious talon bear away
Whate'er they touch; who but a single eye
Leave Argus, and make Lynceus blind; they flit
'Mid thefts of guardians of the public wealth.
But hundred-handed plunder baffled not
Lucillus, and one hand so many hands
Working together at one time restrained.

And now from Pisa's city turning back
To Triturrita, I to the fair South
The flapping sails was setting, when the sky,
With sudden rack o'ercast, grew foul with storm,
Flashed from the riven clouds their forked fires.
We stayed; for who beneath malignant storms
Would dare to journey through the furious waves?

olim Barth, with an ellipsis as in line 307. *nunc olim* together Heins., i.e. et nunc et olim.

608 *Circunsist* B. *Harpyias* V. *arpvas* R.

609 *Arpias—umguibus* R. *decerpitur* B.

611 *arguunt que lincea* R.

612 *custodes* VRB with *custodum* ·*f*· in margin of V. *volant* VRB. *vorant* Baehr. Perhaps we should read *volunt*, see E. N.

613 *turba* Schrader, of which conjecture Schenkl approves.

614 *restit* R.

615 *triturrita pisca ex* R. *Triturita* B.

616 *Aptabant n. pennŭla notho* (*t* on erasure) R. *notho* V.

617 *Quin subbitis* R. *intectus inhorruit* Burmann, *contectus inhorruit* Schrader, both emendations unnecessary and bad. Crusius conjectures *Cum subitis contractus nimbus inhorruit austris*, a line that may safely be pronounced impossible in so correct a writer as Rutilius.

Otia vicinis terimus navalia silvis,
Sectandisque iuvat membra movere feris.
Instrumenta parat venandi vilicus hospes
Atque olidum doctas nosse cubile canes.
Funditur insidiis et rara fraude plagarum
Terribilisque cadit fulmine dentis aper,
Quem Meleagrei vereantur adire lacerti,
Qui laxet nodos Amphitryoniadae.
Tum responsuros persultat bucina colles,
Fitque reportanti carmine praeda levis.

Interea madidis non desinit Africus alis
Continuos picea nube negare dies.
Iam matutinis Hyades occasibus udae:
Iam latet hiberno conditus imbre Lepus,
Exiguum radiis, sed magnis fluctibus, astrum,
Quo madidam nullus navita linquit humum.
Namque procelloso subiungitur Orioni
Aestiferumque Canem roscida praeda fugit.
Vidimus excitis pontum flavescere arenis
Atque eructato vertice rura tegi:
Qualiter Oceanus mediis infunditur agris,
Destituenda vago cum premit arva salo;
Sive alio refluus nostro conliditur orbi,
Sive corusca suis sidera pascit aquis.

621 *Ocia* VR. *nemoralia* for *navalia* Crus. *silvis* V.
622 *Soctandisque* R. *Spectandisque* Goetz. *iuvant arma movenda* Crus.
623 *villicus* VR.
624 *olidum* omitted R. *canis* V.
627 *meleagraei* VB.
628 *laxet* with *ss* over *x* V. *laxet* B. *lasset nodos* (*do* apparently from *ua*, and in margin *nodos*) *amphitruoniade* R. *Laxat* Panv.
629 *Tunc* R. *buccina* VR. *colles* VRB. *montes* Mueller after Damm, apparently without need.
630 *reportando* V. *reportanda* RB. *reportanti* Cast. *reportantum* Heins.
631 *maditis—aphricus* R.
632 *continuos—dies* VB, which Baehrens objects to in sense 'continuos per dies solem,' and himself reads *continuos* (as nom. sing.)—*diem*, a reading surely still less defensible. Perhaps we should read *continuo* and *diem*. The adverb *continuo* (for the ante- and post-classical *continue*), in the sense of 'in an uninterrupted series, one after another, continuously,' occurs in Quint. 2, 20, 3: 9, 1, 11. *pigea n. necare* R. *necare* V.
633 *Iur m. hiades o. unde* R. *hudae* V.
634 *hyberno* RB. *hymbre* B. *lepus* V.

Our rest from sailing in near woods we pass
And gladly ply our limbs in chase of game.
Our innkeeper provides the hunting-gear
And hounds the lair strong-scented trained to find.
By ambush and the snares of wide-meshed nets
The boar is slain, and falls—though terrible
For flashing tusks—a boar which Meleager
With shoulders strong would tremble to approach,
Which would relax the thews of Hercules.
Then through the echoing mountains rings the horn,
And the spoil's weight the hind makes light with song.

Meanwhile the south-west-wind with dripping wings
Stints not to keep from us with pitchy clouds
Day after day. 'Tis now the morning setting
Of the watery Hyades, and now the Hare
Is buried and concealed by winter's rain—
Star of faint beams, but source of mighty waves;
No sailor quits the land drenched with its flood.
Storm-fraught Orion it comes next, and then
The dewy prey the burning Dogstar flies.
We have seen the deep yellow with turbid sands,
And pastures covered with its dregs upthrown,
As on the midst of fields wide ocean pours
When with stray surge it presses on the flats
It must anon desert, whether it be
That, backward-flowing from another world,
It dashes on this world wherein we dwell,
Or with its waters feeds the twinkling stars.

635 *magnum* Cast.
636 *Qua maditam n. n. lignit* R. *linquat* V.
637 *que* after *nam* omitted R. *orioni* VR. Mueller unnecessarily reads *Oarioni*.
638 *Aestiferamque* V. *canem* V. *roscida* (*r* from *s*) R.
639 *harenis* (*h* on erasure) R.
643 *alio* VB. *alto* (= *in mare*) for *alio* Baehr. *nostro orbe colluditur* R. *coll.* B. *orbe* VRB. *orbi* Muell.

Rutilii claudii namatiani de reditu suo explicit liber I. *Incipit liber* II. V. This subscription follows immediately, without an intervening space, after the last line of Book I. The hand, which I call third hand (see Introd. page 75), is different from both the hands that wrote Book I., but the same as that which in the next line, without intervening space, runs on with Book II.

Explicit liber primus Claudii Rutilii Poete Incipit liber II. *Claudii Rutilii Numantiani poete dignissimi*; and on the margin *Io*: *And*: *Cru.* R.

finis itinerarii primi Rutilii Claudii Numatiani de reditu suo itinerarii liber secundus B.

LIBER SECVNDVS

Nondum longus erat nec multa volumina passus,
  Iure suo poterat longior esse liber:
Taedia continuo timui incessura labori,
  Sumere ne lector iuge paveret opus.
Saepe cibis adfert serus fastidia finis:
  Gratior est modicis haustibus unda siti.
Intervalla viae fessis praestare videtur
  Qui notat inscriptus milia crebra lapis.
Partimur trepidum per opuscula bina ruborem,
  Quem satius fuerat sustinuisse semel.

Tandem nimbosa maris obsidione solutis
  Pisano portu contigit alta sequi.
Arridet placidum radiis crispantibus aequor,
  Et sulcata levi murmurat unda sono.
Incipiunt Appennini devexa videri,
  Qua fremit aerio monte repulsa Thetis.

Italiam rerum dominam qui cingere visu
  Et totam pariter cernere mente velit,
Inveniet quernae similem procedere frondi,
  Artatam laterum conveniente sinu.
Milia per longum decies centena teruntur
  A Ligurum terris ad freta Sicaniae:

1 *Non dum* V. *volta vol.* R.
3 *timuit* VR. *timui* Wernsdorf. *cessura* VR. Baehrens suspects this word, and conjectures *sessura*, i.e. *haesura*. Mueller reads *censura*, which Baehrens thinks may be due to a printer's mistake. *timui incessura* Purser, see E. N. Kapp places lines 9 and 10 before this line.
4 *nec* (with *c* erased) R. *iure* R.
5 *Sepe* R. *affert* VR.
6 *hausibus unda sitis*, with *siti :f-* in margin V. *sitis* R.
8 *millia* V.
9 and **10** Kapp puts these lines before lines 3 and 4.
9 *rubore* R. *rumorem* Panv., in violation of metre. *tumorem* or *timorem* Pith. *pudorem* Kapp.

BOOK II.

Not long as yet, nor rolled in many folds,
My book; of right it might have longer been;
I feared disrelish on a task would steal
Unbroken, lest the reader should refuse
To take in hand a book that had no end.
Often the lengthened feast makes loathèd food;
The water lightly sipped best quenches thirst.
The stone inscribed that marks the many miles
Tired travellers seems to respite on their way.
Between two works I share my diffidence,
Which it had better been to have faced at once.

At length, freed from the clouds that blocked the sea,
The port of Pisa 'twas our lot to leave,
And sail the deep. The calm sea smiles, with rays
Ruffling; with light plash ripple the cleft waves.
The slopes of Appenninus heave in sight
Where Thetis chafes by the tall peak repelled.

He who Italia, mistress of the world,
Would clasp in vision, her whole land at once
In mind enfold, will find that like a leaf
Of oak she stretches all her length along,
Narrowed with bays converging from each side.
It is a journey of a thousand miles
From lands Ligurian to Sicilia's straits;

10 *Qem s. fuerant substinuisse satis* R.
11 *Tam nẽ nimb. magis* R.
12 *pisano* V. *Pisano e portu* Graevius, of which Schenkl approves.
13 *Arr.* V. *Adr.* Baehr.
14 *murmura* R.
15 *appennini* V. *apennini* R. *Appenini* B.
16 Baehrens conjectures *a recto monte.* *thetis* V. *tethis* R.
17 *cingnẽ* R. *iungere* or *stringere* Heins.
18 *venit* R.
19 *Invenitque verne* R.
20 *artatam* V, though it has *arctatis* in I. 242. *Arctatam—sinu* wanting R.
21 *Millia* (but in lines 8 and 26 *milia*) R. *feruntur* Schrader.
22 *territ ad* (*d* from *t*) R.

In latum variis damnosa amfractibus intrat
Tyrrheni rabies Adriacique sali.
Qua tamen est iuncti maris angustissima tellus,
Triginta et centum milia sola patet.
Diversas medius mons obliquatur in undas,
Qua fert atque refert Phoebus uterque diem:
Urget Dalmaticos Eoo vertice fluctus,
Caerulaque occiduis frangit Etrusca iugis.
Si factum certa mundum ratione fatemur,
Consiliumque dei machina tanta fuit,
Excubiis Latiis praetexuit Appenninum
Claustraque montanis vix adeunda viis.
Invidiam timuit natura parumque putavit
Arctois Alpes opposuisse minis:
Sicut vallavit multis vitalia membris,
Nec semel inclusit, quae pretiosa tulit.
Iam tum multiplici meruit munimine cingi
Sollicitosque habuit Roma futura deos.

Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum,
Proditor arcani quod fuit imperii.
Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,
Crudelis summis miscuit ima furor:
Dumque timet, quidquid se fecerat ipse timeri,
Immisit Latiae barbara tela neci.
Visceribus nudis armatum condidit hostem,
Illatae cladis liberiore dolo.

23 *Iillatum v. dannosa amphractibus* (*r* on erasure) R. *In latus at* Wernsdorf. *clamosa* Heinsius. *anfr.* B.
24 *tyrrheni* V. *Tirreni* (*h* written above) R. *Hadriacique* V. *hadriacique* R. *Adriacique* B. *salis* VRB. *sali* Panv.
25 *victi* R.
26 *patens* R.
28 *Qua refert a. r.* R.
29 *Urguet* Zumpt. *eoo* V. *equovert.* R.
30 *Ceruleaque o. fragnit etr.* R. *ethrusca* V.
31 *Si* wanting R.
33 *Latiis* V. *latiis pret. apẽninum* R. *Latii* Cast. *appenninum* V. *Appeninum* B.
34 *viis* VRB. *feris* Schrader. *jugis* Heins. Baehrens, who reads *suis* for *viis*, explains *montani* as 'Appennini incolae.'

In breadth, with varied coils the wasting rage
Of the Tyrrhenian and the Illyrian Seas
Invades; but, where between the seas the land
Is narrowed, in its width one hundred miles
And thirty it but measures. On each side
The central mountain-range slopes to the waves
Where every morn the sunrise springs to life,
And every eve the sunset dies away.
With eastern brow it awes the Illyrian waves,
With western ridges breaks the Tuscan blue.
If we admit that on a certain plan
The world was fashioned, that this great machine
Was by a God designed, the Apennines
Along the Latian watches he enwove,
A barrier scarce by mountain-paths approached.
Nature feared envy, and deemed it not enough
To oppose the Alps to the invading North,
Just as with *many* limbs our vital parts
She has fenced, nor *once* the parts she prized enclosed.
Even then did Rome deserve to be girt in
By many lines of bulwarks, and she claimed,
Though yet unborn, the Providence of Heaven.

All the more grievous for this cause the crime
Of the stern Stilicho, that he betrayed
The Empire's secret. While he strove to outlive
The Roman race, his cruel rage confounded
Both high and low; while that wherein he had made
Himself a fear he feared, barbaric arms
He loosed for Roman murder; an armed foe
He in his country's naked vitals hid,
His treachery freer by the ruin he wrought.

36 *Artois a. apposuisse* R. *alpes* V.
38 *Nec temere inclusit* Heins. *dedit* for *tulit* Wernsd.
39 *cigni* R.
40 *Roma* V. *deos* V. *Deos* Muell.
41 *stilconis* R. *Stiliconis* B.
42 *quod* VRB. *qui* vulgo.
43 *generi* V. Mathis, p. 76, quotes *genero* as a variant for *generi*.
45 *quicquid fec.* (omitting *se*) R. Baehrens c. *quoquo*. *quicquid subiecerat* (or *suffecerat*) *ipse timori* Heins. *quicquid sibi fecerat ipse timoris* Burm. *Quumque timet quicquid* (*se fecerat ipse timeri*) *Immisit* Barth.
47 *Viscerib* /// *nudis armentum* (under the erasure *duc* or *due*) R.
48 *Illatae* VRB. *Illato* Baehr. *In latam cladem* R. K. Boekmeyer. *liberiora* V. *Iliacae cladis deteriore dolo* J. S.

Ipsa satellitibus pellitis Roma patebat,
Et captiva prius quam caperetur erat.
Nec tantum Geticis grassatus proditor armis:
Ante Sibyllinae fata cremavit opis.
Odimus Althaeam consumpti funere torris:
Nisaeum crinem flere putantur aves.
At Stilicho aeterni fatalia pignora regni
Et plenas voluit praecipitare colos.
Omnia Tartarei cessent tormenta Neronis,
Consumat Stygias tristior umbra faces.
Hic immortalem, mortalem perculit ille;
Hic mundi matrem perculit, ille suam.

Sed deverticulo fuimus fortasse loquaces:
Carmine propositum iam repetamus iter.
Advehimur celeri candentia moenia lapsu:
Nominis est auctor sole corusca soror.
Indigenis superat ridentia lilia saxis,
Et levi radiat picta nitore silex.
Dives marmoribus tellus, quae luce coloris
Provocat intactas luxuriosa nives.

Reliqua desunt.

Reid, see E. N. The construction, whether the ordinary reading be retained or Reid's conjecture adopted, is very obscure. Perhaps we should read *Illatam cladem* in apposition to the expression in the preceding line. The introduction of armed barbarians as mercenary troops into the heart of the empire was a disaster inflicted with freer wile, i.e. with wile more freely ventured because freer from danger for Stilicho himself than if he had openly attacked his country.

49 *parebat* for *patebat* Crusius, a change that violates the metre, and gives an inappropriate sense.

50 *capitivia* R.

51 *geticis* V. *crassatus* VB. *grassator* R. Wernsdorf and Zumpt say that Servatius Gallaeus de Sibyllis quotes as a variant for this and the following line, *Ne tantum patriis saeviret proditor armis Sancta Sibyllinae fata cremavit opis*. The name of the authority for the reading, however, is not mentioned; and Zumpt thinks Servatius is merely commending in this way a conjecture of his own.

52 *sibyllinae fata* V. *sibillinae facta* R.

53 *Altheam* VR. *consumptis* R.

54 *Niseam cr. flesse* (*ss* from *x* apparently) R. *Nisaeum crimen* Panv., which would have to be translated 'the crime against Nisus'; for the crime, of course, was not that of Nisus, but that of Scylla against Nisus. *putantur aves* VRB. *putatur avis* (sc. Scylla) Baehr.

Rome to the skin-clad myrmidons lay wide,
And captive was ere taken prisoner.
Nor was it only by the Getic arms
The traitor made advances; he erstwhile
Burned the decrees given by the Sibyl's aid.
We hate Althaea for the death produced
By the burnt torch; the birds are thought to weep
For Nisus' lock; the Empire's fate-fraught pledges
And yet full-furnished distaff Stilicho
Was willing to destroy. Let all the pangs
Of Nero in Tartarus cease, a sadder spirit
Consume the Stygian torches! An immortal
Did Stilicho overthrow, a mortal Nero;
He the *world's* mother slew, Nero *his own.*

But in this digression too much have we said:
Let us resume our voyage's appointed course.
Swiftly we're wafted to the glittering walls.
The sister who her fitful radiance owes
The sun bestows upon the place a name.
Its cliff of native rock with soft gleam flashes,
And smiling lilies rivals in its white;
The soil is rich in marble, which, profuse
In its light's colour, vies with virgin snow.

55 *Ast stilico etherni* R. *Stilico* B. *eterni* V.
56 *colus* Cast.
57 *tartarei* V.
58 *stigias* R.
59 *inmortalem motalem* R.
60 *perculit* is omitted in R.
61 *diverticulo* VRB. *E diverticulo* Schrader. *deverticulo* Muell., Baehr.
62 *preposito iam /// rep.* (under the erasure *p*) R. *proposito* B. Vessereau reads *praeposito*, sc. *carmine*, quo 'diverticuli' instar, laudata Italia, invectus est in Stilichonem.
63 Wernsdorf says Reusner quotes this line as, *Pone mettalliferae candentia moenia Lunae*, probably owing to a recollection of Stat. Silv. 4, 4, 23 *Anne mettalliferae repetit iam moenia Lunae.*
64 *autor* R.
65 *Indignenis* R. *candentia* for *ridentia* Reusner.
66 *laevi* B.
Subscription. *desunt in exemplo cetera ab onofrio panvino in sua Roma*, in a hand different from that of the text; and then, in yet another hand, apparently *Faffani est* V. The writing, however, is difficult to decipher; and Baehrens, from J. Huemer's collation, gives *desunt in exeuso quoque ab onofrio panvino in sua Roma* and *Fasscini est.*
Τελως *Heu seculorum Incuria huius Elegantissimi Poetę disideratur* (so) *reliquum*, and on a slip *Johannes Andreas Crucianus* R.
finis secundi B.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

EXPLANATORY NOTES

BOOK I.

1–18 Introductory. Rutilius defends himself against the charge of having lingered too long at Rome. He extols the advantages of Roman citizenship, whether inherited or acquired, and points out the liberality with which foreigners are admitted to the enjoyment of its privileges.

1 potius. The abruptness of this opening makes it seem probable that the beginning of the poem has been lost, as Castalio and Barth maintain, and that *potius* refers to something in the earlier lines. The sense required, as Zumpt says, would be: "Many perhaps will blame me for absenting myself so long from my native country, and lingering unnecessarily at Rome"; to which the poet replies, "But you, my reader, will *rather* wonder at the quickness of my return when I had to leave the pleasures of Rome." It may well be doubted whether the poem would not lose more in spirit and force than it would gain in grammatical accuracy by Zumpt's proposed exordium; and yet, on the whole, it seems probable that something has really been lost at the beginning of the poem, as has almost certainly happened at the end. Those who, with Burmann, Damm, Kapp, and Wernsdorf, hold that nothing of the beginning has been lost, maintain that *potius* may be used without the alternative to which it refers being formally expressed, and quote, in support of their view, lines I. 99, where *potius*, and 582, where *plus*, are used without an alternative being distinctly stated. Such a use, however, in the body of a narrative, where the preceding words sufficiently explain the reference, hardly justifies a similar abruptness in the opening line. It is difficult to suppose that the poem began with such a use of *potius*, when there is nothing to suggest the required contrast until nearly twenty lines later.

Dr. Purser suggests that *potius* may refer to the Title *De Reditu Suo*: "You may not wonder, reader, at my returning eventually to my country; you will *rather* wonder at so speedy a return." This explanation, of course, assumes the genuineness of the title, which is doubtful. See Introd., pages 16 sq.

Zumpt at one time proposed to account for the harshness of the expression by the presumed emotion of the poet on leaving his well-loved Rome. He afterwards —wisely, it would seem—abandoned this explanation, as hardly applicable to a deliberately published work. Professor Vessereau, however, approves of it.

Those who think that the opening of the poem is complete as it stands should perhaps emend *potius* to *prorsus*. There is no doubt about the reading in V being *potius*; but it is to be noted that, in the script of this MS., *ti* and *r* are very similar; and if V is a copy of another MS. of the same period (as some think probable, see Introd., page 70), *potius* of our MS. may be a mistake for *prorsus*.

2 The omission of a subject in this line is a serious difficulty, and the more so as in the preceding line neither *nostrum* nor *meum* occurs to explain whose return

is referred to, and so to suggest a subject for *posse carere* in the second line. Wernsdorf proposes to meet the difficulty by taking lines 1 and 2 together, and making *reditum* the subject of *posse carere*, "You will wonder that [my] quick return can so soon dispense with the good things of Rome." Professor Vessereau takes a similar view, and regards *velocem reditum* as equivalent to *me velociter redeuntem*.

Perhaps it is just possible that the original reading was *Me cito*, and that *Tam*, which has ousted *Me*, was a marginal gloss qualifying *cito*, as it now actually does in the text, and was introduced into the text through a misunderstanding.

Pithoeus and Cortius, who refuse to admit that the beginning of the poem has been lost, in order to supply the required ellipsis, propose to read *quam* for *tam*; and Barth, with the same view, reads *quam me ita* for *tum cito*. These conjectures, however, give a sense quite contrary to that required, as they would imply that the wonder was not that Rutilius should leave Rome, but that he should be willing to return to his country; whereas the poet obviously uses the leaving of Rome and the return to his native country to express the same thing, and means that the wonder was that he should leave the attractions of Rome even to satisfy the claims of patriotism.

With the sentiment of the passage, cf. what Symmachus, Epist. 1, 30, says about leaving Rome: *difficile est hinc abire, cum veneris; adeo si contemplari maiestatem urbis nostrae velis, cito tibi Rusticus videbitur revertisse.*

3 For longum, 'tedious,' cf. Cic. Att. 12, 5 *horae quibus expectabam longae videbantur.*

toto aevo, the abl., not the acc., is probably used because the meaning is, 'with the devotion of their whole life,' not 'during their whole life.'

venerantibus, i.e. live at Rome and devote their lives to her: cf. line 16.

5 In this line most modern editors have adopted one or both of Heinsius' emendations; and the latter course I have followed, though not without hesitation, as the MS. reading *quantum et quotiens possum*, which is retained and defended by Zumpt, is very fairly satisfactory, meaning, 'as great and manifold as I can calculate is the happiness of those who,' &c.; 'How great and manifold may I account the happiness of those who,' &c.

quater. Our idiom is 'thrice' or 'ten times' happy. In Latin *ter*, or *quater*, or both together, are used, e.g. Verg. A. 1, 94 *terque quaterque beati.* Hor. C. 1, 13, 17 sq. *felices ter et amplius, Quos irrupta tenet copula.*

quater et quotiens. Cf. Ovid. Trist. 3, 12, 25 *O quater et quoties non est numerare, beatum, Non interdicta cui licet urbe frui.* Ov. A. A. 2, 447 sq. *O quater et quoties numero comprendere non est Felicem.*

beatos, *beati* and *felices* (line 11) are distinguished, the former denoting a higher degree of happiness: cf. line 11, and Cic. Tusc. 5, 10, 29 *neque ulla alia huic verbo, quum beatum dicimus, subiecta notio est, nisi secretis malis omnibus cumulata bonorum omnium complexio.*

6 meruere. Cf. line 172 *meruit loqui.* II. 39 *meruit cingi.* Cic. Fam. 10, 17 *dignitatem meam, si mereor, tuearis.* Ov. Tr. 5, 11, 16 *Quae merui vitio perdere cuncta meo.*

8 Cf. Ov. Pont. 1, 2, 2 *Et geminas animi nobilitate genus.*

9 semina virtutum, 'the seeds of virtues,' i.e. the germs from which virtues spring, the persons in whom they are formed. For the use of *semina* cf. Cic. Fin. 5, 7, 18 *in animis, quasi virtutum igniculi atque semina.* Quint. 2, 20, 6 *si virtutes sunt, ad quas nobis initia ac semina sunt concessa natura.* Caesar Germanicus, in his Latin translation of the Phaenomena of Aratus 133, *Aerea sed postquam proles terris data, nec iam Semina virtutum vitiis demersa resistunt.*

demissa caelo. Cf. Verg. E. 4, 7 *Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.*

demissa et tradita caelo Mueller seems to explain as "sent down from heaven and returned thither"; for he compares in Verg. A. 9, 642 *dis genite et geniture deos,* said of Aeneas, and in Manilius *Ille etiam coelo genitus coeloque receptus,* said of Caesar. Mathis, however, translates: Dal cielo giù mandati e porti all' uomo Delle virtudi i semi in altro luogo Non han potuto aver più degna stanza.

10 Cf. Ov. Fast. 4, 270 *Dignus Roma locus quo deus omnis eat.* Ammian. Marcell. 14, 6 *aliquando virtutum omnium domicilium Roma.*

11 sq. Two classes of persons are distinguished—'the happy' (*beatos,* line 5) who were born at Rome, and 'the fortunate' (*felices,* line 11) who, 'being allotted privileges that came next to the highest,' though not born at Rome, 'got homes' there. That this is the meaning appears also from line 13, *peregrinae laudi,* 'foreign merit.' The highest privilege was to be born at Rome; the next highest to get a home there, though one was born abroad.

primis, sc. *muneribus,* 'highest,' 'most valued.' Cf. Ov. Tr. 5, 8, 38 *Haec sunt a primis proxima vota meis.* Wernsdorf regards *primis* as masculine, referring to the persons mentioned in line 5; but that would require *prioribus.*

12 Latias here means 'Roman,' as often in the poets. Cf. Claud. Stil. 3, 34 *Nec similis Latias patefecit gloria portas,* where the reference is to the gates of Rome. Wernsdorf thinks the words *Latias optinuere domos* refer to the extension of the Roman citizenship by Caracalla. That, however, as Zumpt remarks, can hardly be a correct view. Caracalla gave the name and privileges of Roman citizens to all the free inhabitants of the empire, and that wide extension of the citizenship is referred to in lines 13 and 63; but in the present passage the reference seems to be to settlers from abroad at Rome, who are contrasted with those born there.

13 Relligiosa is here used in a good sense, 'considerate,' as we talk of 'a paternal' government. In line 390 the substantive *relligio* is used in a bad sense, 'superstition.'

Peregrinae laudi, 'foreign merit,' i.e. foreigners of merit, distinguished, deserving foreigners. For this use of abstract for concrete, cf. 19 *mea fortuna,* 'luckless I,' 90 *nobilis gloria.* For the sense of the passage, cf. Claud. Stil. 3, 150 *Haec* (sc. Roma) *est, in gremium victos quae sola recepit, Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit, Matris, non dominae, ritu; civesque vocavit, Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.*

15 It is unnecessary to take **collegae** to mean 'magistrates,' as Zumpt and Wernsdorf do. The word, no doubt, is often used of fellow-magistrates, but only when the context suggests that meaning. The context here suggests the meaning 'senatorial colleagues,' which is not mere tautology, as Zumpt thinks, but

emphasizes the personal equality conferred on the foreigners admitted to the senate; they enjoy the privileges as much as their colleagues. The use of *ordo* for 'the Senate,' as we use 'the House' for 'the House of Commons,' is too familiar to need illustration. In this connexion *ordo* expresses rather the senatorial rank, *curia* the place of meeting.

16 Genii. As it is of senators the poet is speaking, the reference must be to some divinity connected with that body; and as no mention of a Genius of the Senate is found, possibly the reference is to the god of the temple in which the meeting of the Senate was held, or in particular to the statue of Victory in the Curia Iulia, where, from the time of Augustus, the Senate usually met. See Suet. Aug. 35 *sanxit ut, priusquam consideret quisque senator, ture ac mero supplicaret apud aram eius dei, in cuius templo coiretur.* Dio Cassius 51, 22 ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ (τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίειον) τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν· ἦν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ταραντίνων καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθὲν ἔν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἱδρύθη καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις λαφύροις ἐκοσμήθη.

That the altar of Victory or the statue was in the senate-house in the time of Claudian, Zumpt infers from the following passages in his poems:—Stil. 3, 202 *Quae vero procerum* (i.e. *senatorum*, as appears from line 213) *mens, quam certa fuere Gaudia, cum totis exurgens ardua pennis Ipsa duci sacras Victoria panderet alas*; and VI. Cons. Hon. 597 *Adfuit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis, Romanae tutela togae: quae divite pompa Patricii reverenda fovet sacraria coetus.* Ib. 611 *O quantum populo secreti numinis addit Imperii praesens Genius.*

He further supports the above view that the *Genius* here referred to is the said *Victoria*, by the Letter of Symmachus to Valentinian, in which, referring to this statue of Victory, he says *ut animae nascentibus, ita populis tutelares genii distribuuntur.* Cf. also Prudentius ii. 574.

Schenkl, however, says the reference is to the *genius urbis Romae*, which is identical with the *genius populi Romani*, as, he thinks, is clear from the comparison with the World Soul of the Stoics, lines 17, 18. This *genius* is identical with the *dea Roma*, and with this correspond the words *genii quem venerantur*, and, in line 3, *Romam venerantibus.*

17 sq. The meaning is, that the several members of the Senate have a share in its guardian tutelary genius, just as the universe, from pole to pole, is permeated by the Divine essence.

Mundani verticis, cf. Milton, Comus: *Sphery chime.* Cic. N. D. 1, 20 *mundum versari circum axem coeli.* Verg. A. 4, 482 *maximus Atlas Axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.* Macrobius, Somn. Scip. 1, 21 *et quia medium coelum quasi mundi vertex est.*

18 Concilium is here used in the technical sense, in which Lucretius employs it, as well as the verb *conciliare*, of the uniting of the atoms to form a *res.*

Heraclitus held τὸ ἓν διαφερόμενον αὐτὸ αὑτῷ συμφέρεσθαι ὥσπερ ἁρμονίαν τόξου τε καὶ λύρας (see Plato, Sympos. 187); and the Stoics, following him, held that God was the soul of the world. Cf. Marcus Antoninus 4, 40 οἷά τις πάντων ἡ σύννησις καὶ συμπήρυσις. 5, 9 πάντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιπλέκεται καὶ ἡ σύννησις ἱερά· κόσμος τε γὰρ εἷς διὰ πάντων καὶ θεὸς εἷς διὰ πάντων καὶ οὐσία μία καὶ νόμος εἷς,

λόγος κοινὸς πάντων τῶν νοερῶν ζῴων καὶ ἀλήθεια μία. Cf. Heraclit. ap. Arist. Mund. 5, 5 ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῷ σκοτεινῷ λεγόμενον Ἡρακλείτῳ "συνάψειας οὖλα καὶ οὐχὶ οὖλα συμφερόμενον καὶ διαφερόμενον, συνᾷδον καὶ διᾷδον· καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἕν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντα."

Cf. Aesch. Prom. V. 561 τὰν Διὸς ἁρμονίαν, 'settled government, order' of Zeus—an expression adopted, as H. Rackham says, from the Pythagoreans, who conceived the ordered universe symbolically as a musical harmony (Ar. Met. 1, 5).

Baehrens says: "concilium ceterorum deorum (cf. Cic. Tusc. iii. 5) Iovi summo adsidentium comparatur cum provincialibus in senatum Romanum adscitis (genium intellege populi Romani, quem repraesentat senatus)."

19–34 He reluctantly leaves Rome in order to bear such aid as he may to his native land of Gaul, which has suffered from inroads of the barbarians.

19 mea fortuna, abstract for concrete, 'my fortune' for 'unfortunate I.' Cf. line 13 *peregrinae laudi*, 'foreign worth' for 'worthy foreigners.'

revellitur. A *vox propria* for reluctant separation, as Ovid, leaving Italy, says: Trist. 1, 4, 23 *Dum loquor et cupio pariter timeoque revelli.*

21 The Vandals, Suevi, and Alans crossed the Rhine at Mayence and invaded Gaul on the last day of 406 A.D. One of the letters of St. Jerome, referred to by Itasius Lemniacus, tells how town and country suffered from their invasion. Next came the Burgundians: and in 412 the Goths, under Ataulfus, occupied Aquitania and Novempopulonia. The plundering hordes of the Bagaudae also, lurking in woods, mountains, and marshes, made regular government impossible outside the towns. Cf. Sid. Carm. 7, 298 *Et caput hoc sibimet solitis defessa ruinis Gallia suscipiens Getica pallebat ab ira.* See also Introd., page 3 sq., and note on line 213. From all this it will be readily understood in what an evil plight Gaul was at the time of Rutilius' journey.

22 quam . . . tam, with comparative for *quanto . . . tanto*: cf. Verg. A. 7, 787 *Tam magis illa fremens et tristibus effera flammis Quam magis effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae.* For the sentiment cf. Cic. Ep. 4, 9, 3 *nunc vero nec locus tibi ullus dulcior esse debet patria nec eam diligere minus debes, quod deformior est, sed misereri potius nec eam multis claris viris orbatam privare etiam aspectu tuo.*

26 "'Tis when ofttimes schooled by grief that services avail,' i.e. our services (*labor*) to our country are of more avail when they are stimulated by the actual sight of her sufferings.

admonitus, cf. Tac. Germ. 37 *non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeque saepius admonuere.*

For **labor**, meaning 'trouble taken about a thing,' cf. Verg. A. 4, 379 *Scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos Sollicitat.*

27 nescire, 'ignore,' 'overlook.' Cf. Lucan 7, 410 *tempora signavit leviorum Roma malorum, Hunc voluit nescire diem.* The meaning is different in line 246, where *nescit* means 'knows nothing of,' 'is unaffected by.'

28 suspensae opis, 'help deferred,' Wernsdorf; but Zumpt says, 'held in the balance.' Perhaps 'hesitating,' 'halting.'

Schenkl thinks lines 27, 28 should precede 25, 26, so that *Praesentes* may better contrast with *suspensae*; the sense will then run—"It is no use to send

orders from Rome for the restoration of my wasted property. I must, as master, be present on the spot; and the painful sight will stimulate my exertions (*labor*) in rebuilding," &c.

30 For **vel** in a disparaging sense, 'were it but,' 'at least,' 'even,' cf. Cic. Or. 2, 27, 119 *haec sunt omnia ingenii vel mediocris.* Plin. Panegyr. 58, 3 *non debitum hoc illi? non vel sola generis claritate promeritum?* Suet. Domit. 20 *nunquam tamen aut historiae operam ullam aut stilo vel necessario dedit.*

For **pastorales casas** cf. Calp. 2, 60 *Ne contemne casas et pastoralia tecta.*

31 sq. For the sense cf. Verg. Ecl. 1, 40 *Ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant.* For *arbutum*, properly the fruit or berry of the wild strawberry, used in sense of *arbutus*, the arbute-tree, cf. Verg. G. 4, 181 sq. *pascuntur et arbuta passim Et glaucas salices casiamque crocumque rubentem Et pinguem tiliam et ferrugineos hyacinthos.*

34 'Furnish fresh incentives to my voyage,' 'spread fresh sails to speed my desires,' i.e. 'the journey I desire.' The expression **addere vela** is analogous to *addere animum* or *animos*, *addere calcar*, and is appropriate in reference to a journey by sea.

35–46 The journey decided on, the question of the route to be taken remains. That by sea is preferred to that by land, on account of the state of the country: for the lowlands are flooded, the hill-country is steep and rugged, the devastating Getae have broken down the bridges, and left few human abodes to limit the forests. Rutilius decides to trust himself to the chances of the sea; and bidding farewell to Rome, he passes her portals with reluctant steps. He craves indulgence for leaving Rome, and, in the next 118 lines, from 47 to 164, pays a tribute of praise to the greatness of the city.

35 Laxatis of the MS. seems preferable to Schrader's *lassati*, which is adopted by L. Mueller. Rutilius has been speaking of the hold Rome had on him: this is now relaxed, and he leaves the city. *Lassati* would imply that he was tired of Rome, and seems inconsistent with his previous words, e.g. line 3. Schenkl, however, prefers *lassati*, which, he thinks, suits better with *vincimur* in the next line.

36 Vincimur, i.e. 'My reluctance to leave Rome is overcome, and I at length face the long-postponed journey.'

37 terrena viarum = *terrestris via*, is 'the land route,' in contrast with the 'sea route,' *pelagus*. For *terrenus*, 'belonging to the land,' cf. line 333 *terreno bello*, and 477 *terrenis canalibus*. Cic. N. D. 2, 16, 43 *bestiarum terrenae sunt aliae, partim aquatiles.* In the next line the land route is divided into **plana**, 'the lowlands,' which were flooded by rivers and without bridges (line 41), and **alta**, 'the high ground,' bristling with crags—not a bad description of the Via Aurelia, the great coast-road to Transalpine Gaul, extending from Rome, at first only to Pisae, but afterwards continued to Genoa and Forum Iulii in Gaul.

Cicero more than once refers to the difficulty of this route in the neighbourhood of Vada Sabbatia, now Vado, in Liguria (not to be confounded with Vada Volaterrana, now Torre di Vado, in Etruria, mentioned in line 453). See Cic. Ep. 11, 10, 3 *huc accessit manus Ventidii, quae trans Apenninum facto itinere difficillimo*

ad Vada (Sabbatia) *pervenit*. Ib. 11, 13, 2 *Constitit* (Antonius) *nusquam, prius-quam ad Vada venit. Quem locum volo tibi esse notum. Iacet inter Apenninum et Alpes, impeditissimus ad iter faciendum.* The expression *iter terrenum* occurs in Pliny N. H. 6, 17, 19, and 3, 8, 14. The words **plana** and **alta** are in partitive apposition to **terrena**. Baehrens, objecting to the expression *terrena viarum* and its connexion with the following line, reads *vetabant* for *viarum*.

39 sq. 'Since the Tuscan territory and the Aurelian road had been raided with fire and sword by the Gothic bands, and had no houses left to limit the forests, nor bridges across the rivers.'

agger. In the Classical period, when this word is used of a road, it has *viae* joined with it. See Verg. A. 5, 273 *viae deprensus in aggere serpens.* Tac. H. 2, 24 *aggerem viae tres praetoriae cohortes obtinuere.* Zumpt says the Goths devastated the Aurelian road, especially in 412, when going with Ataulfus from Italy to Gaul. They were, however, friendly to the Romans at that time.

40 Geticas. Here, as in line 142 and II. 51, the name Getae is used for Gothi or Gothones, because the latter people settled in lands formerly occupied by the Getae. On the death of Alaric, Ataulfus, his wife's brother, became King of the Visigoths, whom he led from Italy into Gaul, probably by the Aurelian Way, as that was the shortest route.

ense vel igne. For *vel* where we should expect *et* cf. Verg. A. 6, 769 *Silvius Aeneas pariter pietate vel armis Egregius.* Claud. Bell. Get. 131 *Pectora Fabricii donis invicta vel armis.*

42 Incerto, &c. 'It is better to go by ship, and take the chances of the sea.' Cf. line 187 *Occidua infido dum saevit gurgite Plias.* Rutilius left Rome on Sept. 22, 416 A.D. See Introd., page 9.

43 relinquendis portis, 'the gates we are about to leave, have to leave.'

infigimus oscula. Cf. Verg. A. 2, 490 *amplexaeque tenent postes atque oscula figunt.*

44 Cf. Ov. Trist. 1, 3, 56 *Ter limen tetigi*; *ter sum revocatus*; *et ipse Indulgens animo pes mihi tardus erat.*

sacra. Rome was regarded as a goddess. See note on line 48.

45 'With tears we crave pardon (sc. for leaving), and offer a tribute of praise.'

47–164 Now follows the famous Panegyric on Rome. Compare the words of Claudian Stil. 3, 130–173, which throughout form a useful commentary on this passage of Rutilius.

47–66 Rome apostrophised. The extent, greatness, and unity of her Empire.

47 regina. Ammian. Marcell. 14, 6, speaking of Rome, says, *per omnes tamen, quotquot sunt, partes terrarum, ut domina suspicitur et regina*; and in the same chapter he speaks of Rome as *caput mundi*.

tui, i.e. 'which thou hast made thine own by conquest.'

pulcherrima. Cf. Verg. G. 2, 534 *Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma.*

mundus, which properly means the universe, is here used, as often by the poets, for the earth. Cf. Claud. Bell. Gild. 161 *pars tertia mundi*, referring to Africa.

48 The deification of Rome, according to Itasius Lemniacus, seems to have originated in Asia Minor. The first temple erected to the goddess Rome was at

Smyrna, 195 B.C. The temple of Venus and Rome, commemorating the myth of Rome's connexion with Venus through Aeneas, was built by Hadrian at the east end of the Forum, on the slope of the Velia. It was the largest and one of the most magnificent temples at Rome. Cf. Tac. A. 4, 37 *Cum d. Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset.* Suet. Aug. 52 *Templa . . . in nulla provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit.*

49 genetrix, &c. The expression is, no doubt, an imitation of the Homeric πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

genetrix hominum. Cf. Claud. Stil. 3, 150 *Haec* (sc. Roma) *est in gremium victos quae sola recepit, Matris non dominae ritu.* Rome, in fact, is thus described because she admitted to her citizenship all the nations she conquered.

genetrix deorum. Rome may be called the Mother of the Gods, not only because many of her citizens were deified, such as Romulus, Julius Caesar, Augustus, and other Emperors, but because she honoured with temples and worship many abstract ideas, such as Mens, Fides, Spes, Virtus, Honos, Concordia, and adopted foreign deities, as Cybele, Isis, Serapis, &c. See Claudian in the passage quoted above. See also Claud. Bell. Gild. 131 *Moerent indigetes et si quos Roma recepit, Aut dedit ipsa deos.* Florus 1, 13, 18 *destinatam hominum ac deorum domicilio civitatem.*

50 Zumpt seems to be right in explaining this to mean that at Rome, owing to her numerous temples, one is almost as much in the company of the gods as if one was in heaven. Wernsdorf, however, thinks the allusion is to the height of the temples, towering to the sky, and compares Martial 10, 51 *Capitolini summum penetrale tonantis, Quaeque nitent coelo proxima templa suo.* Claud. Stil. 3, 134 *quae luce metalli Aemula vicinis fastigia conserit astris.* Tertull. Apol. 25 *Capitolia coelo certantia.*

53 The meaning is, 'I would as soon commit the crime of forgetting the sun, to which we owe so many blessings, as forget thee.' For the sun as a symbol of the greatest good, cf. Cic. Lael. 13 *solem e mundo tollere videntur, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt.*

55 munera tendis. Cf. Verg. G. 4, 534 *tu munera supplex Tende petens pacem.* Cic. de Or. 1, 40, 184 *spem amicis et prope cunctis civitatibus lucem ingeni et consilii porrigentem atque tendentem.*

For **munus**, 'a gift,' cf. Verg. G. 1, 237 sq. *duae* [zonae] *mortalibus aegris Munere concessae divum.*

57 continet. Cf. Claud. Cons. Olyb. et Prob. 1 sq. *Sol, qui flammigeris mundum complexus habenis Volvis inexhausto redeuntia saecula motu.* Petron. Satyr. 119 *Orbem iam totum victor Romanus habebat, Qua mare, qua terrae, qua sidus currit utrumque.* Claud. Stil. 3, 139 [Roma] *parva a sede profectas Dispersit cum sole manus.* Id. Bell. Gild. 48, Rome says of herself, *ad solem victrix utrumque cucurri.* Priscian. Perieg. 1 *Naturae genitor, quae mundum continet omnem.*

58 For the neuter pl. **tuis . . . tua**, 'thy domain,' cf. the familiar use of *sua* for 'his property,' 'their property.' Caes. B. G. 1, 11, 2 *se suaque defendere.*

61 sq. **quantum . . . tantum** for *in quantum . . . in tantum*, cf. Quintil. 10, 1, 126 *tantum ab illo defluebant, quantum ille ab antiquis descenderat.*

vitalis natura, 'life-giving nature,' 'nature in which life is possible,' seems the true reading, not *vitales* in agreement with **axes**. 'Life-giving nature extended towards the poles' is a more natural expression than 'nature extended towards the life-giving, i.e. habitable, zones,' even if *axes* could be used for *zonae*. The general sense is, of course, the same in either case—viz., the range of the habitable world. Cf. Nemes. Eclog. 1, 35 sq. *Omniparens aether, et rerum causa liquores, Corporis et genetrix tellus, vitalis et aer.* Lucan. 9, 435 *temperies vitalis.* Verg. A. 1, 387 *invisus coelestibus auras Vitales carpis.* Plin. N. H. 2, 28 *omne, quod inani simile, vitalem hunc spiritum fundit.*

tetendit in axes. Cf. Claud. Stil. 3, 138 sq. *Haec est, exiguis quae finibus orta tetendit In geminos axes.*

axes, 'the poles,' as in line 17, not 'zones,' as Mathis and others explain it. The doctrine of the five zones, two only of which are habitable by men, is set forth in Verg. G. 1, 233 sq.

63 Under Caracalla the citizenship of Rome, which had been extended from time to time, was made to embrace all provincial free inhabitants of the Empire. Cf. Claud. Stil. 3, 150 sq. *Haec est, in gremium victos quae sola recepit, Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit, Matris non dominae ritu; civesque vocavit Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.*

64 sq. It seems unnecessary to change **iniustis**, the reading of V, which is, doubtless, used for the verbal play with *consortia iuris* in the next line—'It was good for those who knew no right [i.e. the barbarian nations] to be captive under thy control; and in tendering the conquered a share in thine own rights thou didst make a city what was before a world.'

For the use of **capi** cf. Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 156 *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

66 Cf. Ov. F. 2, 683 sq. *Gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo; Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem.*

67–78 Venus and Mars were the founders of the race; and so the Romans are ready alike for war and love. Various deities have won their position through their services to mankind or their achievements. Rome, by embracing the world in the triumph of law, has no less claim to be a deity.

67 sq. A double divine origin is claimed for the Roman race, from Venus through Aeneas, and from Mars through Romulus. In classical writers *auctor* is used as fem. as well as masc. For an example in Rutilius, see II. 64 *Nominis est auctor sole corusca soror.*

69 sq. Rome's valour against the foe and mercy to the conquered are due respectively to the god of war and the goddess of love, to both of whom she traces the foundation of her race. Both deities harmonise with, and are united in, her character.

71 sq. For the sentiment cf. Verg. A. 6, 854 *Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento, Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.* Claud. Bell. Gild. 97 [populus Romanus] *quem semper in armis Horribilem gentes, placidum sensere subactae.*

Zumpt puts a comma after **certandi** on the ground that it must be separated from **bona**, which, in its sense of 'kindly,' is not appropriate with **certandi**, but only with **parcendi**. The point, however, cannot be pressed. *Bona*, no doubt, as

an epithet of *voluptas*, is suggested by *parcendi*, not by *certandi*: but, as a matter of grammatical construction and of translation, we cannot limit the *bona* that belongs to *voluptas* to one of the two participles depending on that substantive.

Zumpt is more happy in pointing out that the subject of the verbs *timuit*, &c., in the next line, is *voluptas*, and not *Roma*, as some have held. Rome throughout this passage is addressed in the second, not the third, person. A comma should therefore be placed after *voluptas*, and not a colon, as in Mueller's text.

Itasius Lemniacus and Mathis, however, make Rome the subject. Arturo Trinch disguises the difficulty by translating—"Quindi il diletto Ch' ugual ti dan la pugna ed il perdono, E domare i temuti e i dómi amare." We may follow his example by translating—'Hence is it that thou hast a kindly pleasure alike in fighting and in showing mercy—pleasure in conquering the dreaded foe, and in loving him when conquered.'

For the sense of **bona** cf. Verg. E. 5, 65 *Sis bonus o felixque tuis*. For Baehrens' ingenious conjecture, *par* instead of *bona*, see C. N.

73 sq. The poet enumerates gods who have been deified for their services to mankind, and suggests that Rome has no inferior claim to the divine title. Accordingly, in line 79, he calls her 'goddess.'

Inventrix oleae, Minerva. Cf. Verg. G. 1, 18 *oleaeque Minerva Inventrix*. Cicero, however, says Verr. 4, 128 *Aristaeus, qui inventor olivae esse dicitur, una cum Libero patre eodem erat in templo consecratus*.

vini repertor, Bacchus.

puer, Triptolemus, of whom Ceres says in Ov. F. 4, 559 *Ille quidem mortalis erit; sed primus arabit Et seret et culta praemia tollet humo*.

colitur is to be repeated with **vini repertor** and **puer**.

Paeon or Paean was the eponymous hero of the medical art, and he appears in Homer as the state physician of the gods. After the time of Homer and Hesiod Paean became a surname of Asclepius, the god of healing, and of Apollo. It is to be noted that the second syllable in *Paeonium* is here short, though it should be long (παιώνιος). The short vowel belongs to the name of the country, Paeonia (Παιονία).

76 Cf. Cic. Off. 3, 5 *Herculem illum, quem hominum fama, beneficiorum memor, in concilio coelestium collocavit*.

It has been suggested that **nobilitate** seems a weak word here, and does not define Hercules' claim to divine rank as clearly as is done in the case of Minerva, &c., in the preceding lines.

Strenuitate, suggested in the C. N., would express better the character of the man of many labours. For this rare word see Varr. L. L. 8, 5, 107 *ab strenuitate et nobilitate strenui et nobiles*. Ov. M. 9, 320 *Strenuitas antiqua manet*. In the latter passage the reference is to Galanthis, a female attendant, who rendered important service to Alcmena at the birth of Hercules.

Probably, however, *nobilitate* is right. Dr. Purser points out that 'loftiness of soul' was the characteristic of Hercules, according to Horace, C. 3, 3, 1–12.

77 Cf. Claud. Stil. 3, 150 *Haec est in gremium victos quae sola recepit, Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit*.

79–92 There is no Empire to compare with that of Rome; for the Assyrian Empire was not so extensive; the Medes were conquerors only of their neighbours; the Parthians and Macedonians had only alternate turns of fortune among themselves. Yet, though Rome has surpassed the nations mentioned, her power originally was not greater than theirs. It was not might, but wisdom and justice, that gave her pre-eminence.

79 recessus. Cf. Claud. Stil. 3, 157 *quod cernere Thulen Lusus, et horrendos quondam penetrare recessus. Angulus* is used in a similar sense, e.g. Vell. 2, 102 *ut in ultimo ac remotissimo terrarum orbis angulo consenescere quam Romam regredi mallet.* Cic. Cat. 2, 8 *nemo non modo Romae, sed nec ullo in angulo Italiae.* Ov. F. 1, 86 *Iuppiter, arce sua totum cum spectet in orbem, Nil nisi Romanum, quod tueatur, habet.*

Burmann's conjecture, *Romanus ubique receptus*, 'a Roman [i.e. Romans] received [into citizenship] everywhere,' is doubtless due to *colla* in the following line, which he thought inappropriate with *recessus*.

81 sq. Cf. Hor. Carm. Saec. 11 *Alme Sol . . . possis nihil urbe Roma Visere maius.* Verg. G. 2, 534 *Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma.* If *perpetuo motu*, the reading of Baehrens, be adopted, the meaning will be, 'the stars that in their ceaseless course keep watch on everything have seen no fairer empire.'

83 sq. 'What union of dominion comparable with this had the Assyrian arms the luck to form?' With this and the following lines cf. Claud. Stil. 3, 163 *sic Medus ademit Assyrio Medoque tulit moderamina Perses. Subiecit Macedo Persen cessurus et ipse Romanis.*

84 Schenkl defends *cum domuere*, the reading of V; and, putting a comma after *Medi* and after *suos*, makes *Medi*, in common with *Magni Parthorum reges* and *Macetumque tyranni*, subject of *dedere*. He excuses the slightness of the pause at the end of the pentameter, as being permissible in an enumeration. The rhythm, however, and the sense of the passage seem strongly to favour Mueller's conjecture, *condomuere*, which is adopted in the text. The object of the poet is to contrast the world-wide Empire of Rome with the limited successes of other nations. The Assyrians built up no comparable Empire; the Medes conquered only the neighbouring peoples; the Parthians and Macedonians only enjoyed varying successes over one another; but none won a universal sway as Rome did.

85 Macetum is genitive of *Macetae* = Μακέται, a less common form for Μακεδόνες. The allusion is to the Macedonian kings of Syria, who had many and fluctuating relations with the Parthians.

86 'Gave laws to one another with varying fortune,' i.e. sometimes one, sometimes the other, had the upper hand.

87 Rome was no Geryon of triple form, but had merely the same endowments of vital power and physical strength as others. It was wisdom and justice that gave her a superiority.

90 Zumpt remarks that *gloria* is abstract for concrete; practically equivalent to *tu, quae gloriam adepta es.* Cf. line 19.

91 Mueller thinks *quod* is accusative; but surely the meaning is, 'that you rule is a less thing than that you deserve to rule,' not 'what you rule over is less

than what you deserve to rule over.' The poet means that to be worthy of holding Empire is a greater glory than to hold it.

93–114 The glories of the city, its temples, its aqueducts, its reservoirs, its springs, its colonnades, its groves.

93 decora are doubtless arches or monuments embellished with the spoils of the enemy. Cf. Cic. Verr. 2, 4, 44 *hostium spolia, decora atque ornamenta fanorum.* Stat. Silv. 4, 3, 97 sq. *Huius ianua, prosperumque limen Arcus, belligeri ducis tropaeis Et totis Ligurum nitens metallis, Quantus nubila qui coronat imbri.* Claud. vi Cons. Hon. 50 *spoliisque micantes Innumeros arcus.* Id. Stil. 3, 67 *Indutosque arcus spoliis aequataque templa Nubibus et quicquid tanti struxere triumphi.*

95 Cf. Claud. vi Cons. Hon. 51 *acies stupet igne metalli Et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro.* Id. Stil. 3, 133 *quae luce metalli Aemula vicinis fastigia conserit astris.*

97 Our fullest information about the aqueducts of Rome is derived from Sex. Julius Frontinus, who was *curator aquarum* from 97 till 106 A.D., under Nerva and Trajan. He says that in the time of Nerva there were nine aqueducts at Rome. Procopius (500–565 A.D.) says that in his time fourteen aqueducts were still preserved at Rome (Bell. Goth. 1, 19). It seems probable that he has fixed the number too high, by counting as separate aqueducts in some cases what were merely branches. The full number of separate aqueducts seems to have been eleven. There is, however, no doubt that their number and magnitude were such as to fully justify what Pliny the Elder (23–79 A.D.) says of one of them—namely, the Claudian, H. N. 36, § 123 *si quis diligentius aestimaverit aquarum abundantiam, extructos arcus, montes perfossos, convalles aequatas, fatebitur nihil magis mirandum fuisse in toto orbe terrarum.* Cf. also Frontinus, De Aquaeductibus Urbis Romae 1, 16 *tot aquarum tam multis necessariis molibus pyramides vel inertes otiosas compares aut caetera inertia, sed fama celebrata, opera Graecorum.* The destruction of the aqueducts began after the siege of Rome by Vitigis, King of the Goths, in 537 A.D. In the fifteenth century the Popes began to restore these ancient works, and three of them still supply Rome, and supply it sufficiently—viz., the Aqua Vergine, which supplies the Fontana di Trevi; the Aqua Felice, anciently the Aqua Claudia, named from Fra Felice, afterwards Sixtus V.; and the Aqua Paolo, the ancient Aqua Trajana and Alsietina, united and restored by Paul V., which supplies the Trastevere and the Vatican.

98 imbriferas aquas. Cf. Tibull. 1, 4, 43 *Quamvis praeterens picea ferrugine coelum Venturam admittat imbrifer arcus aquam.* We sometimes find the rainbow spoken of as bringing the rain, instead of the rain bringing the bow. Ov. M. 1, 271 *Concipit Iris aquas, alimentaque nubibus affert.*

99, 100 Much difficulty has been made about these lines, on the ground that the comparative **potius** (about which word there is a difficulty also in line 1, where see note) is used absolutely, without the idea with which the comparison is made being definitely expressed. Zumpt proposes to solve the difficulty by supplying the reference from the following line: "These might more aptly be called mountains reared to heaven than those about which the well-known story of the giants

is told." It seems, however, quite possible to take *potius* in a natural manner, referring to what goes before. In lines 97, 98 the poet had compared the aqueducts to streams raised on arches that vied with the rainbow in their span. In the present lines, struck doubtless by the ponderous mass of the structures, he says, "You might more properly say they are mountains grown up to the stars"; and, as this metaphor naturally reminds him of the Giants piling Pelion on Ossa, he adds, "Greece [herself] might praise [admit the greatness of] such a work of giants"; or perhaps rather, "Let Greece boast of such a work of giants," sc. if boast she can; let her show such a work of giants.

For the hyperbolical **in sidera**, cf. Ov. F. 4, 328 *Index laetitiae fertur in astra sonus.*

101–110 Schenkl proposes to arrange these lines in the following order:—1, 2, 5, 6, 3, 4, 7, 8—which gives a natural connexion to verse 107, and a regular line of thought: whole rivers flow to Rome and the water of great lakes, which makes the air cool and the drinking-water wholesome; yet Rome is not without springs within her own area; and he goes on to tell of the hot spring and the Sabines.

101 These words may be understood quite literally, referring, e.g., to the Anio, which supplied the Anio Vetus and the Anio Novus; to the Curtius and the Coeruleus, which supplied the Aqua Claudia; to the Rivus Herculaneus, which was an additional source of supply to the Anio Novus. See Zumpt.

102 lacus, e.g. Alsietinus, Sabatinus, now Lago di Bracciano, Sublacensis, near the modern Subiaco. The water brought to the city by the aqueducts was stored in tanks or cisterns, of which there were many at Rome. Wernsdorf thinks the allusion is to private baths, called **celsa** because at the top of the house. Zumpt is doubtless right in thinking the public baths are meant, called **celsa** because of their loftiness.

103 celebrantur. For *celebrari*, to be abundantly supplied, furnished with, cf. Ov. Trist. 5, 6, 37 *quam multa madidae celebrantur arundine fossae.*

venis. For *vena*, used of a watercourse, cf. Ov. Trist. 3, 7, 16 *fecundae vena aquae.* Cicero, Rep. 2, 6, 11 says that Romulus chose as the site for his city *locum et fontibus abundantem et in regione pestilenti salubrem.*

104 Totaque. Mueller reads *Lotaque*, quoting Tibull. 4, 6, 3, where he says a similar change is required. The emendation is doubtless right in the passage of Tibullus, but it seems quite unnecessary here.

105 hinc, i.e. owing to the abundance of water.

halitus is used like *spiritus* in Calp. 4, 4 *levatque diem* (i.e. the heat of the day) *vicini spiritus amnis.*

106 Innocuam. Thirst is harmless when relieved by the use of good water.

purior, i.e. purer than that found elsewhere. The water brought by the Aqua Marcia was specially famous. See Plin. H. N. 31, 3, 24 *clarissima aquarum omnium in toto orbe, frigoris salubritatisque palma praeconio urbis Marciu est inter reliqua deum munera urbi tributa.*

107 The story of the help Janus gave to the Romans during the attack of the Sabines under Titus Tatius (**hoste premente**) is told in Ov. F. 1, 261 sq., and in

Macrob. Saturn. 1, 9. Under the Capitol, close by the Forum, stood the celebrated Janus Quirinus, Janus Geminus or Porta Janualis. It was a tradition at Rome that when Tatius and his Sabines had reached this gate the god, by causing a stream of boiling water to gush forth from the earth, forced them to retire, and that the Romans, out of gratitude, raised an altar and chapel to him on the spot. See Keightley's Mythology.

109 For **aeternus**, used of constantly flowing, perennial water as opposed to casual, intermittent, cf. Ov. Amor. 3, 6, 20 *Tu potius, ripis effuse capacibus omnis (Sic aeternus eas) labere fine tuo.* Id. Met. 15, 550 *gelidum de corpore fontem Fecit et aeternas artus tenuavit in undas.*

111 The allusion is to covered colonnades with panelled ceilings, which gave shelter from wind or rain. Cf. Hor. Ep. 1, 10, 22 *Nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas.*

112 For **vernula**, 'native,' 'indigenous,' like *vernacula*, cf. Juv. 5, 105 *Vernula riparum.* Varr. R. R. 3, 5, 7 *aves vernaculae.* Burmann wrongly explains *vernula avis* as a bird that sings in spring, comparing Ov. Tr. 3, 12, 8 *Indocilique loquax gutture vernat avis.*

qua = *ubi.*

For birds kept in aviaries, cf. Hor. C. 3, 1, 17 sq. *Destrictus ensis cui super impia Cervice pendet non Siculae dapes Dulcem elaborabunt saporem Non avium citharaeque cantus Somnum reducent.*

113 Vere tuo. Cf. line 199 sq. *Illic perpetui soles, atque ipse videtur Quem sibi Roma facit purior esse dies.* The poet means that by artificial means Rome has secured the advantages of a perpetual spring, and has overcome the severities of winter, so as to enjoy herself even at that season. Zumpt well compares a passage from the Panegyric of Pacatus on Theodosius (14) *parum se lautos putabant, nisi luxuria vertisset annum, nisi hibernae pocula rosae innatassent.* A little earlier in the same passage are mentioned *peregrini aeris volucres, alieni temporis flores.* Cf. Seneca, Epist. 122 *Non vivunt contra naturam, qui hieme concupiscunt rosam? fomentoque aquarum calentium, et calorum apta imitatione, brumam luxum, florem vernum, exprimunt?*

115–140 Rome is exhorted not to lose heart, but to rise superior to her troubles in the present, as she has so often done in the past. Brennus, Pyrrhus, and Hannibal conquered, only in their turn to be overcome; and Rome, gaining fresh strength from disaster, may look forward to a future coextensive with the existence of the world.

115 Rome is exhorted to refresh the laurels depressed by the disasters sustained at the hands of the barbarians. Cf. Claud. Bell. Gild. 208 *afflavit Romam meliore inventa. Continuo redit ille vigor senilique colorem Mutavere comae, solidatam crista resurgens Erexit galeam clipeique recanduit orbis Et levis excussa micuit rubigine cornus.*

117 Rome, when represented as a goddess in the poets, usually wears a helmet. Cf. Claud. Bell. Gild. 23 sq. *humeris vix sustinet aegris Squalentem clipeum; laxata casside prodit Canitiem, plenamque trahit rubiginis hastam.* Sidon. Apoll. Carm. 5, 13 *Sederat exerto bellatrix pectore Roma, Cristatum turrita caput, cui pone capaci*

Casside prolapsus perfundit terga capillus. The present passage, however, describes the Corona Muralis made of gold and decorated with turrets, with which Cybele is sometimes represented. A like description of personified Rome is found in Lucan 1, 179 *Turrigero canos effundens vertice crines.*

118 Perpetuos ignes. Cf. Verg. A. 10, 272 *et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignes.*

119 tristem casum. The allusion is probably to the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410. The poet exhorts Rome to rouse herself, and obliterate the marks of that disaster.

120 solidet. This verb is often used, chiefly in the passive voice, as a medical term for a bone knitting, e.g. Plin. Ep. 8, 20, 4 *vis* [est lacui] *qua fracta solidantur.* Plin. N. H. 28, 16 (65). It is also used of wounds generally, e.g. Cels. de Med. 8, 6.

121 Cf. Hor. C. 4, 4, 57 sq., where Horace says of the Roman race *Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso Ducit opes animumque ferro.* Claud. Stil. 3, 144 sq. *Nunquam succubuit damnis, et territa nullo Vulnere, post Cannas maior Trebiamque fremebat, Et cum iam premerent flammae, murumque feriret Hostis in extremos aciem mittebat Iberos. Nec stetit Oceano, remisque ingressa profundum Vincendos alio quaesivit in orbe Britannos.*

I have followed Mueller in adopting Simler's *tuis. Tuum*, however, would give a simpler construction than *tuis*, and its corruption to *vis* is as easily explained. Both conjectures assume the loss of initial *t*. The last letter of *tuum* would probably be represented by a stroke above the line, as is often the case; and the unmeaning *uū* thus emerging would easily become *vis*, as the following word begins with *s*. For the pronoun with *solemne* cf. Cic. Att. 7, 6, 1 *nostrum illud solemne servemus.*

122 'After the model of the heavens, you submit to losses that bring gain,' i.e. as the stars set but to rise again, and the waning moon soon waxes once more, so Rome may be confident of rising superior to her present troubles.

ditia damna. Cf. Ovid's words with regard to the Hydra, Her. 9, 96 *damnis dives ab ipsa suis*, 'enriched by its own losses.'

For **damna**, used of the waning of the moon, cf. Hor. Od. 4, 7, 13 *Damna tamen celeres reparant coelestia lunae.*

125 sq. From instances in the past history of Rome, where she soon retrieved her temporary reverses, the poet augurs a like recovery from her present troubles. The victory of Brennus at the Allia in 390 B.C., and his siege of the Capitol, were soon followed by his defeat and death. The Samnites, by their ultimate subjection, atoned for the hard terms they imposed on the Roman army in the affair of the Caudine Forks, 321 B.C. Pyrrhus' early victories in Italy were followed by his disastrous defeat at Beneventum in 275 B.C. Hannibal's successes, though great, yet ended in his discomfiture. Cf. Claud. Bell. Get. 145 sq.

Rutilius, no doubt, accepted the popular legend according to which Brennus was defeated and slain by Camillus. The true story, however, is given in Polybius 2, 18, who says that he received 1,000 pounds of gold as a ransom for the Capitol, and returned home safely with his spoil.

129 sq. 'Such things as cannot be kept under rise again with greater buoyancy, and rebound to a greater height from the lowest depths.'

resurgunt. Cf. Ov. F. 1, 523 *Victa tamen vinces eversaque Troia resurges.* Id. Pont. 4, 8, 28 *Obruta de mediis cymba resurget aquis.* For *surgere* in similar sense cf. Sidon. Apollin. Carm. 7, 5 *Sidera sunt isti, quae sicut mersa nitescunt, Adversis sic Roma micat, cui fixus ab ortu Ordo fuit crevisse malis.* Ib. 5, 64 *tua* [i.e. Romae] *nempe putantur Surgere fata malis et celsior esse ruina.*

130 Wernsdorf takes **altius** as 'deeper': but Zumpt is, doubtless, right in explaining it as 'higher.' He compares Plin. N. H. 2, 38 *vapor ex alto cadit rursumque in altum redit.* Ovid M. 8, 225 says of Icarus *altius egit iter.* Statius Silv. 2, 1, 101 *Vidi ego transertos aliena in robora ramos Altius ire suis.*

131 Cf. Ov. Am. 1, 2, 11 *Vidi ego iactatas mota face crescere flammas, Et vidi nullo concutiente mori.*

133 Laws, like men, are said to live, to grow old, and to die. Cf. Claud. iv. Cons. Hon. 505 *priscamque resumunt Canitiem leges.* Gell. Noct. Att. 20, 1 *populus Romanus passus est leges istas situ atque senio emori.* Livy 34, 6, 5 *quas tempora aliqua desiderarunt leges, mortales, ut ita dicam, et temporibus ipsis mutabiles esse video.*

Romana saecula. Cf. Stat. Silv. 1, 1, 94 *stabit dum terra polusque, Dum Romana dies.* Martial. Epigr. 9, 2, 8 *Manebit altum Flaviae domus gentis Cum sole et astris cumque luce Romana.*

134 Non for *ne*, a solecism pointed out by Quintilian 1, 1, 5. Cf. Hor. Sat. 2, 5, 90 sq. *ultra Non etiam sileas.* The usage, as Zumpt says, is more frequent with the first and third persons, in which the imperative force is less prominent than in the second person. See line 160.

135 sq. 1169 years from the foundation of the city gives 416 A.D. as the date of the poem. See Introd., page 7 sq.

137 nullis obnoxia metis. Cf. Verg. A. 1, 278 *His* [sc. Romanis] *ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono; Imperium sine fine dedi.*

138 Cf. Stat. Silv. 1, 1, 93 sq. *stabit dum terra polusque, Dum Romana dies.* Claud. in Rufin. 2, 527 *dum rotet astra polus.* Tibull. 1, 4, 66 *Dum cadum stellas, dum vehet amnis aquas.*

141–154 Prayers that the Getae may be subdued, and that all the world may contribute to the support of Rome and to her greatness.

141 sacrilegae hostia gentis, lit. 'victim consisting in the impious race,' i.e. let the race itself, guilty of the sacrilege of taking Rome, fall as a victim; which means, not necessarily that all the Getae should be slain, but rather that they should be conquered and subdued to Rome, as is, in fact, stated in the next line.

142 perfida. At this time the Goths had the same proverbial reputation for faithlessness which the Carthaginians had in earlier times, and to which the expression 'Punica fides' is due. See Ammianus Marcell. 22, 7, 8 *Gothos saepe fallaces et perfidos.* Sidon. Apoll. Ep. 6, 6 *foedifragam gentem.*

144 From the following lines, 145 sq., it seems clear that the epithet **augustos** is used in reference to the divine character assigned to Rome, and not in reference to the Emperors, as some have suggested.

barbara praeda. Cf. Ov. Her. 1, 26 *Ponitur ad patrios barbara praeda deos.*

145 Aeternum is adverbial, as in Verg. A. 6, 617 sq. *sedet aeternumque sedebit Infelix Theseus.* Hor. Ep. 1, 10, 41 *Serviet aeternum.* Verg. G. 2, 400 *glaebaque versis Aeternum frangenda bidentibus.*

Rhenus aret. The Rhine is here used for the banks of the Rhine, as is more clearly expressed in Claud. Cons. Olyb. et Prob. 161 *sic nobis Scythicus famuletur Araxes, Sic Rhenus per utrumque latus.* The fertility of the Rhine region and of Germany in general, as well as of Gaul, was of special importance at the time (A.D. 397–8) when the Moorish chieftain Gildo had revolted to Arcadius, and prevented the Roman cornfleets sailing from Egypt. Stilicho was specially active in arranging for these supplies. See Claud. in Eutr. 1, 401, where Rome is represented as saying, *Quam suspecta fames, quantum discriminis urbi, Ni tua vel soceri* [i.e. Stilichonis or Honorii] *numquam non provida virtus Australem arctois pensasset frugibus annum. Invectae Rhodano Tiberina per ostia classes, Cinyphiisque ferax Araris successit aristis. Teutonicus vomer Pyrenaeique iuvenci Sudavere mihi*, &c. Cf. also Cons. Stil. 1, 220 sq., 2, 392 sq., 3, 91 sq.

tibi Nilus inundet. Rutilius speaks as if the division of the Eastern and Western Empires had not yet taken place; for, after that event, the cornfleet from Alexandria instituted by Commodus (see Lampridius, Commod. 17) went to Constantinople, not to Rome, and the latter city had to depend on supplies from Libya, and not from the Nile valley. See Claud. Bell. Gild. 60 *Cum subiit par Roma mihi, divisaque sumpsit Aequales Aurora togas. Aegyptia rura In partem cessere novam: Spes unica nobis Restabat Libye, quae vix aegreque fovebat Solo ducta Noto, numquam secura futuri, Semper inops, ventique fidem poscebat et anni. Hanc quoque nunc Gildon rapuit.* Ib. 113 *Nunc quid agam? Libyam Gildo tenet, altera* [Roma, i.e. Constantinopolis] *Nilum.*

146 Altricem. Wernsdorf remarks that this epithet is applied to Rome, not only as nourishing the world with laws and institutions, but also because she is often represented in paintings as a woman with full and exposed breasts. See Claud. Cons. Olyb. et Prob. 87 *Dextrum nuda latus, niveos exserta lacertos, Audacem retigit mammam.* Corippus Laud. Just. 1, 289 *Exserto et nudam gestantem pectore mammam, Altricem imperii, libertatisque parentem.* Cassiod. Var. 2, 1 *Ut alumnos proprios ad ubera sua Roma recolligat.*

148 imbre tuo. This probably refers to the belief of the ancients that the north-wind carried the rain-clouds collected in Italy over to Africa. Cf. Stat. Theb. 8, 411 *Cum Libyae Boreas Italos niger attulit imbres.* Lucan. 3, 68 sq. *Ubere vix glebae superat, cessantibus austris, Cum medium nubes Borea cogente sub axem Effusis magnum Libye tulit imbribus annum*, where *magnum annum* means 'a large crop.' Ib. 9, 420 *Libyae quod fertile terrae est, Vergit in occasus; sed et haec non fontibus ullis Solvitur; Arctoos raris Aquilonibus imbres Accipit, et nostris reficit sua rura serenis.*

150 Hesperio nectare, 'Italian wine.' Damm wrongly translates 'oil,' being misled probably by the epithet **pinguia**, which, however, may be used in reference to wine. Cf. Tibull. 1, 1, 5 *Nec spes destituat, sed frugum semper acervos Praebeat et pleno pinguia musta lacu. Nectar* is often used of wine, and also of honey and milk; but it does not seem to be used of oil.

151 Ipse triumphali. Cf. Tibull. 2, 5, 5 *Ipse triumphali derinctus tempora lauro.* The Tiber is represented decked with reeds, as victors were wont to wear laurels. Cf. Ov. F. 5, 637 *Tibris arundiferum medio caput extulit alveo.* Claud. Cons. Olyb. et Prob. 217 *Vertice luxuriat toto crinalis arundo.*

152 famulas. Cf. Claud. Nupt. Hon. et Mar. 177 *Aguoscat famulam virgo Stilichonia pontum.* Id. iii. Cons. Hon. 203 *famulis Gangen pallescere ripis.*

aptet. Cf. Ov. A. A. 2, 126 *aquae remigio aptae.* Hor. A. P. 65 *sterilisque diu palus aptaque remis.*

153 sq. There is, doubtless, a reference to the resumption of traffic after the withdrawal of Alaric and his hordes.

155 164 He prays for a good journey and kindly memories, on the ground of his official services.

155 Pande. Cf. Mart. 12, 99, 4 *cui rector aquarum Albula navigerum per freta pandit iter.*

gemino Castore. The name of either of the Dioscuri is made to do service for both: cf. Hor. C. 3, 29, 64 *geminusque Pollux.* The allusion has special force, because there was a temple of Castor and Pollux at Ostia; see Ammian. Marcell. 19, 10, 4 *moxque, dum Tertullus apud Ostia in aede sacrificabat Castorum, tranquillitas mare mollivit.*

156 Temperet. Cf. Hor. C. 4, 12, 1 *Iam veris comites, quae mare temperant.* Ov. M. 12, 94 *et totum temperet aequor.*

Cytherea. There was a temple of Venus on the island at the mouth of the Tiber, whence Horace couples Venus with the Dioscuri, in his invocation C. 1, 3, 1 *Sic te diva potens Cypri, Sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera, Ventorumque regat pater.* Ov. Her. 19, 159 *auso Venus ipsa favebit. Sternet et aequoreus, aequore nata, vias.*

157 The words in this and the following line refer to the functions exercised by Rutilius when he was Praefectus Urbis (see line 160). **Iura regere** is equivalent to the more classical expression *iudiciis praesse*; and **iura Quirini** is equivalent to *iura Quiritium, Quirites* being used of the Romans in their civil capacity. The Praefectus Urbis, besides other duties, had civil and criminal jurisdiction, extending, in the time of Augustus, over the city itself and an area of a hundred miles radius round it, and at a later period over a much wider territory. He was also President of the Senate, and to the courtesy shown by Rutilius in the latter capacity allusion is made in line 158. See the passage quoted by Mathis from Cassiodorus, Var. 6, 4 *Senatus praesul consides super omnes scilicet consulares, sententiam primus dicis.* Rutilius several times alludes to his tenure of the office of City Prefect—e.g. in I. 423 sq., in the passage where he speaks of Rufius Volusianus; and line 467, where he refers to Decius Albinus. He held the office in 414 A.D. See Introd., page 21 sq.

159 Nam. The connexion is: 'It is only on account of my courtesy to the senators I claim credit; for the absence of capital punishment is to the honour of the people, not of the Prefect.'

160 Non sit. See note on line 134.

161 patriis terris, i.e. in Gaul.

componere, 'to lay at rest,' 'bring to a peaceful end.' Cf. Verg. A. 1, 374 *diem clauso vesper componet Olympo.*

163 agam. For *agere*, 'live,' cf. Sall. J. 55, 2 *civitas laeta agere.* Ib. 101, 6 *tum Marius apud primos agebat.* Tac. A. 3, 19 *apud illos homines, qui tum agebant.* Ib. 3, 38 *Thracia discors agebat.*

164 digneris, 'think fit to do a thing,' 'deign,' like ἀξιοῦν. Cf. Lucr. 2, 1089 *iam nemo Suspicere in coeli dignatur lurida templa.* Symmach. Ep. 5, 25 *nostris negotiis diligentiam dignare praestare.*

165–178 After this exordium he leaves Rome, escorted by several of his friends, among whom he specially mentions Ceionius Rufius Volusianus.

165 iter arripimus. Cf. Stat. Theb. 1, 100 *Arripit extemplo Maleae de valle resurgens Notum iter ad Thebas.* Claud. in Eutr. 2, 406 *Protinus excitis iter irremeabile signis Arripit.* Vergil uses *corripere viam* in a similar sense, 'to set out quickly, hastily,' A. 1, 418 *Corripuere viam interea, qua semita monstrat.* Zumpt points out that both these verbs are used of persons hastily setting out, while *rapere* is used of those already on the way—e.g. Sil. Ital. 9, 33 *dux sibi quisque viam rapito.*

As to the use of the plural **arripimus**, see note on line 179.

166 For **lumina sicca**, 'dry, tearless eyes,' to express absence of emotion, cf. Hor. C. 1, 3, 18 *qui siccis oculis monstra natantia vidit.* Claud. Bell. Gild. 130 *nec sicco Cybele nec stabat lumine Iuno.*

168 Rufius. See Introd., page 27.

171 sq. The allusion is to the office of *quaestor principis*, which Rufius held, and in which it was his duty to reduce to the form of laws the orders of the Emperor, and to read in the Senate the communications the Emperor thought fit to make to that body. Cf. Sidon. Apoll. Carm. 5, 575 *cuius* (sc. quaestor) *dignatur ab ore Caesar in orbe loqui.* Ib. 1, 26 *aut vestro* (i.e. principum) *qui solet ore loqui.* Claud. Cons. Mall. Theod. 35 sq. *oracula regis Eloquio crevere tuo* (quaestoris) *nec dignius unquam Maiestas meminit sese Romana locutam.* See Zumpt.

172 For use of **meruit** cf. line 6.

174 For *Tyrius* = Carthaginian cf. Verg. A. 1,574 *Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.*

175 summos fasces, i.e. the Consulship, as more distinctly expressed in the next line. The symbol of office is used for the office itself.

instantia, 'perseverance,' 'application.' Cf. Plin. Ep. 3, 5, 18 *quid est enim, quod haec instantia non possit efficere?*

176 consul erit. This forecast does not seem to have been fulfilled. We find no record of a Consul Rufius Volusianus.

178 Cf. Ov. Her. 18, 125 *Hei mihi! cur animo iuncti secernimur undis? Unaque mens, tellus non habet una duos?*

179–204 Rutilius now proceeds to where his ships are waiting in the port, on the right branch of the Tiber. The wind, however, is unfavourable, and he is obliged to await an improvement in the weather, lying almost within sight of the city, and within hearing distance of the shouts raised in the Circus.

179 naves. From line 219 we learn that Rutilius' company consisted of several boats (*cymbae*). Cf. line 559, *Puppibus meis.*

Though the friends who saw Rutilius off from Rome parted from him (see line 167) before he sailed, yet he, no doubt, had some companions on his journey. We may, however, assume that they were not intimate friends, nor persons of distinguished station, or he would have been pretty sure to name them, and tell us something about them. Throughout the narrative he uses sometimes the first person singular, sometimes the first person plural, as, indeed, the owner of a yacht might equally well use 'I' or 'we' in giving an account of his voyage, associating his crew and his companions with himself, or not, in speaking of his movements. It is, however, to be noted that Rutilius generally uses the first plural in matters that would be carried out by the agency of his crew—e.g. I. 185 *cunctamur* and *sedemus*, 217 *solvimus*, 219 *progredimur*, 227 *stringimus*, 237 *defleximus*, 278 *pandimus*, 279 *fugimus*, 313 *permittimur*, 337 *tangimus*, 345 *metamur*, 347 *facimus*, 349 *progressi stare videmur*, 400 *certamus*, 429 *curamus*, 619 *substitimus*, II. 63 *advehimur*; while he uses the first singular when an initiative is taken or a course of action decided on, such as visiting a particular place—e.g. I. 179 *ad naves gradior*, 207 *discessuras*, 325 *miror*, 341 *ego volui*, 342 *sequor*, 517 *averor*, 531 *stupui*, 560 *vehor*, 565 *contemplor*. We may, therefore, pretty safely assume that the flotilla or convoy, whatever the number of boats may have been, was under the direction of Rutilius. But it is probable that he had some companions above the rank of the ordinary crew. Such companions, of equal or similar rank, seem to be necessarily suggested by the conversation at Portus Herculis, referred to in line I. 295 sq., and probably, though not necessarily, by such incidents as the hunting expedition in I. 619 sq., and in some other cases where the plural can scarcely have reference to mere members of the crew—e.g. I. 165 *iter arripimus*, 281 *videmus*, 285 *cernimus*, 377 *egressi vagamur*, 387 *reddimus*, 465 *tuti ludificamus*, 527 *petimus*, 621 *terimus*, 639 *vidimus*.

If, as suggested in the Introduction, page 26, Rutilius left Rome to take up some official position in Gaul, the members of his staff would naturally furnish such companions as the narrative seems to require.

In the following passages the first plural is used, quite normally of course, for acts on the part of Rutilius alone:—II. 9 *partimur*, 61 *fuimus*, 62 *repetamus*.

In the following passages the first singular is used when the first plural might have been expected, as the acts described are those of the crew:—454 *ingressus lego*, 616 *aptabam*.

In line 343 the MSS. have *festinantem*, where the plural might perhaps have been expected, as it was not Rutilius but the sailors who were anxious to press on; and accordingly Schrader reads *festinantes*. It is, however, quite unnecessary to make any change. Rutilius had, though reluctantly, acceded to the wishes of the sailors, and the singular (*sequor*) of the preceding line is naturally followed by the singular here. Rutilius says—"*I* wished to halt; but as the crew were eager to press on, I acceded to their wishes, and I was punished for my haste by having to bivouac on the shore." In fact, either singular or plural would make perfectly good sense, and, therefore, no change from the MSS. seems to be required.

qua. Eighteen miles from Rome and four from the coast the Tiber divides into two branches, forming an island sacred to Venus, and called Insula Sacra, now Isola Sacra. See note on line 156.

fronte bicorni, of a river branching so as to form two mouths. Cf. Verg. A. 8, 727 *Rhenusque bicornis.*

180 Dividuus Tiberis. Cf. Ov. F. 4, 291 *Ostia contigerat, qua se Tiberinus in altum Dividit.* Ib. 329 sq. *Fluminis ad flexum veniunt; Tiberina priores Ostia dixerunt, unde sinister abit.*

dexteriora secat. Ostia, the ancient port of Rome, was at the mouth of the left branch, which gradually became choked with sand. The Emperor Claudius made a new and better harbour on the right branch, which was enlarged and improved by Trajan. This harbour was called Portus Romanus, Portus Augusti, or simply Portus.

For **secat** in sense of 'flow through,' cf. Verg. A. 7, 717 *Quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen.* Ib. 8, 63 *pinguia culta secantem*, said of the Tiber. In support of R's reading *petit* may be quoted Lucan 2, 421 *Dexteriora petens montis declivia Thybrim Unda facit.* Claud. Epigr. 1, 14 (mulae) *dexteriora petunt.* See Rhein. Mus. li., p. 207.

182 For the account of Aeneas' landing see Verg. A. 7, 29 sq., where special reference is made to the sand, the accumulation of which ultimately blocked the channel: *Atque hic Aeneas ingentem ex aequore lucum Prospicit. Hunc inter fluvio Tiberinus amoeno Verticibus rapidis et multa flavus arena In mare prorumpit.*

From Ovid, F. 4, 329, we learn that when Cybele, the mother of the gods, was brought to Rome, in 204 B.C., the vessel conveying her was stranded on a sand-bank in this part of the stream, and with difficulty brought on to Rome, showing that even at that early period the left branch of the Tiber was already blocked with sand, and hardly passable for ships. To this latter incident the poet does not allude, possibly, as Zumpt drily observes, because it did not reflect any special credit on the river. See also Introd., page 49 sq.

184 Chelae, 'the Claws,' viz. of the Scorpion, which stands next to Libra in the Zodiac, is the word regularly used by the earlier Greek astronomers (e.g. Aratus 89) for the Balance, Libra. The poets use either Libra or Chelae as suits their convenience. The entrance of the sun into this constellation marks the Autumnal Equinox, when the nights are lengthening, and the glow of light and heat in the sky begins to pale; literally, 'Phoebus in the paler sky of Libra.' Cf. Claud. Cons. Mall. Theod. 120 *noctis reparant dispendia Chelae.*

186 oppositis moris. Cf. Ov. Amor. 1, 11, 8 *Obstantes sedula pelle moras.*

187 Occidua, &c. The setting of the Pleiads was marked by wind and rain. Cf. Claud. Bell. Get. 209 *Atque sub occidua iactatis Pleiade nautis.*

dum in this line means 'while'; in the next line (if the MSS. reading be retained) it means 'until.' For the latter sense with the indicative cf. Verg. E. 9, 23 *Tityre, dum redeo, brevis est via, pasce capellas.* With Mueller's reading *calet* **dum** means 'while' in both clauses. For *cadere* used of the wind, 'to abate,' 'subside,' 'die away,' cf. Ov. M. 8, 2 *cadit Eurus.*

191 Quaque, &c. This is best explained by repeating *respectare iuvat* or *sequi iuvat* from the preceding lines: 'and [we delight to look back or to trace] where

our eyes as guides enjoy that loved region in fancying they can see what they desire to see.' Rome was not really within sight; but the eyes might be said to enjoy that loved region as in fancy they saw what they desired. Cf. Auson. Idyll. 10, 326 *Utque suis fruitur dives speculatio terris.* Lucil. Aetn. 189 *oculique duces rem credere cogunt.*

194 dominas. Cf. II. 17, and Hor. C. 4, 14, 44 *dominaeque Romae.*

caput orbis. Cf. Ov. F. 5, 93 *Hic, ubi nunc Roma est, orbis caput.*

195 Cf. Hom. Od. 1, 57 *αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἱέμενος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρώσκοντα νοῆσαι ἦς γαίης.* Ov. Pont. 1, 3, 33 *Non dubia est Ithaci prudentia, sed tamen optat Fumum de patriis posse videre focis.*

197 This line is to be read in connexion with 194, lines 195-6 being parenthetical. The poet says he identifies the spot where Rome is, not by the smoke rising from it, as is the case with other cities, but by the special clearness of the sky above it. This clearness, no doubt, owes something to the fervour of the poet's imagination; but it may, as Zumpt suggests, have also some basis in fact, as the higher ground of the seven hills may well have had a clearer atmosphere than the low-lying and marshy ground near the mouth of the river. Considering the distance at which the poet is supposed to be from the city, this explanation seems better than that proposed by Barth and by Weinsdorf, that the light is due to the glitter of the gilded buildings, though in support of their view they can quote Claud. Stil. 3, 65 sq. *septem circumspice montes Quos solos radios auri fulgore lacessunt.*

201 attonitae. 'Startled' seems to be the meaning here: but the word also includes the idea of 'spellbound,' 'fascinated,' as in Claud. Cons. Mall. Theod. 20 *et attonitas sermo qui duceret aures.* Ov. M. 11, 20 *volucres vocē canentis* (sc. Orphei) *Attonitas.*

Circensibus is, of course, the ablative, not the dative. The latter case is often found with *resonare*, but in a sense quite unsuitable here, as will be apparent by comparing with the present passage such a passage as Hor. S. 1, 4, 76 *suave locus voci resonat conclusus.* Cf. Juv. 11, 197 sq. *Totam hodie Romam Circus capit et fragor aurem Percutit eventum viridis quo colligo panni.* This passage helps to fix the date of Rutilius' departure from Rome, as the Ludi Romani began on Sept. 21 in Rutilius' time. See Introd., page 9.

202 favor is a *vox propria* for 'acclamations,' 'applause,' at theatrical and other exhibitions. Cf. Cic. Rosc. Com. 10, 29 *quod studium et quem favorem scenae in scenam attulit Panurgus?* A marble tablet found at Porta Portese, Rome, and now in the British Museum, bears the words *Circus plenus, clamor ingens, iuuua* (? clausa), 'circus full, great shouting, doors closed.'

203 B's reading *ad aethera* is possibly, as Hosius suggests, a reminiscence of Verg. A. 8, 70 *effundit ad aethera voces.*

205–216 After a delay of fifteen days there is a change in the moon, accompanied by a more favourable wind, and Rutilius prepares to get under way. On the eve of his departure he sends Palladius, the son of Exuperantius, his kinsman (who seems to have been with him during his detention by stress of weather), back to Rome, to pursue his study of Roman law.

205 fides pelagi. Cf. Verg. A. 3, 69 *inde, ubi prima fides pelago.*

diebus. For the ablative where we should expect the accusative in reference to duration of time, cf. Suet. Calig. 59 *vixit annis undetriginta, imperavit triennio et decem mensibus diebusque octo.* See also note on line 250.

206 If the conjecture *funderet* be adopted, *pelagus* is to be understood as object from the preceding line, 'until a more favourable breeze accompanying a new moon, a change of moon, should lay low, level [i.e. smooth] the sea'—a sense which would accord well with *cadit*, the reading of the MSS. in line 188, and which, being unfamiliar as applied to weather conditions instead of to military operations, would help to account for the change to *fideret*. Perhaps, however, *sideret* is the true reading. Before seeing it mentioned by Wernsdorf I had already made the conjecture, on the ground that *f* and *s* were easily confounded, as appears, for example, from lines 238 and 355, in which R has respectively the impossible *inflatione* for *in statione* and *secunda* for *fecunda*. The meaning then would be, 'until a new moon's better wind should sink,' i.e. until there should be a change of moon, and the wind should fall and be more favourable. *Sideret*, in fact, would, as well as *funderet*, correspond in sense with *cadit* of the MSS. in line 188.

If we could suppose Rutilius capable of lengthening the first syllable of *fieret*, that word would, of course, offer a satisfactory solution, as it would give a suitable meaning; and the slight change to *fideret* of the MSS. would be partly accounted for by the occurrence of the word *fides* in the preceding line. The stem *i* of *fieri*, *fierem*, is often long in Plautus and Terence [see Roby's Grammar, Book ii., chap. xxviii. 731], and it is so also in a fragment quoted by Charisius from the Annals of Ennius, *memini me fiere pavom*; but it is hardly likely that so careful a writer as Rutilius would introduce the usage in elegiac verse.

For the general sense of the passage cf. Plin. H. N. 2, 48 *de ratione ventorum menstrua quarta maxime luna decernit*, i.e. the fourth day after the new moon.

207 sq. Line 167 implies that all Rutilius' friends had returned to Rome except Rufius, and the latter had been sent back to Rome in line 177. Here, however, we find that Palladius had apparently continued with him during his fifteen days' delay. Perhaps he had joined Rutilius from the neighbouring city, where he was pursuing his studies, after the poet's other friends had left him.

For **Palladius** see Introd., page 28 sq.

It appears from this passage that law was specially studied at Rome. In Gaul there were many schools of rhetoric, as we learn from Ausonius. Cf. Symmachus Ep. 9, 88 *Gallicanae facundiae haustus requiro, non quod his septem montibus eloquentia Latiaris excessit; sed quia praecepta rhetoricae pectori meo senex olim, Garumnae alumnus, immulsit, est mihi cum scholis vestris* [i.e. Gallicis] *per doctorem iusta cognatio. Quicquid in me est, quod scio quam sit exiguum, coelo tuo* [i.e. Gallico] *debeo.* For the study of law, however, it was necessary to go to Rome, which Sidonius Apollinaris Ep. 1, 6 calls *legum domicilium.* Accordingly St. Augustine, Confess. 6, 8, says, *Romam processerat, ut ius disceret.*

211 Literally, he has with him the sweetest bonds of my regard—i.e. he is bound to me by the fondest bonds of personal regard.

For **cura**, used of the anxiety of affection, affectionate regard, cf. Prop. 3, 21, 3.

Crescit enim assidue spectando cura puellae. Hor. A. P. 85 *Et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre.*

212 Cf. Cic. Fin. 5, 1 *L. Cicero frater noster cognatione patruelis, amore germanus.* For **affectus** in sense of *amor*, cf. Plin. Ep. 2, 1 *praeterea quod ille tutor mihi relictus affectum parentis adhibuit.*

213 sq. The allusion is not very clear. Britain, denuded of imperial troops, revolted from the Roman Empire in 407; and her example was followed by the Armorican provinces, which at this time not only included the district between the Seine and the Loire, but extended to the Pyrenees. Exuperantius is here credited with having restored order to the district.

214 postliminium is a technical legal expression for a return to one's old condition and former privileges. Here it may be translated 'recovery' or 'restoration' of peace, peace that had before been banished being now restored. Cf. Tertull. Pud. 15 *postliminium largitus ecclesiasticae pacis.*

216 'And does not suffer them [i.e. the inhabitants of the region of Armorica, see line 213] to be slaves to their own servants.' The passage has been variously understood, some supposing **famulis** to refer to the Goths, who, as barbarians, should be subject to the Romans, and not their superiors; others taking the word to refer to officials from whose oppression Exuperantius delivered the people of the province.

Zumpt says that in 408, and also shortly before Rutilius started on his journey, slaves who had been incited by the Goths, when on their way to Spain and to the plunder of Bordeaux, rose, and, ejecting their masters, set up a form of republic: and this slave movement Exuperantius checked. **Famulis** can hardly refer to the Goths, as in 416 they had passed into Spain: and the action of Exuperantius is spoken of as present. It was probably the consideration of this difficulty that led Heinsius to conjecture *servas* agreeing with *leges*.

Professor Vessereau thinks that the term **famulis** means not merely slaves, but includes the restless and revolutionary of all classes among the Armoricans, who rose against the noble and wealthy, the partisans of Rome, and the former masters of the country.

217–236 The poet and his company set sail at early dawn. They travel in small boats, such as could find harbourage along the coast more readily than larger vessels, and were, therefore, safer in the unsettled weather of autumn. Alsium, Pyrgos, Caere, and Castrum Inui, as Rutilius erroneously supposed the place to be, are passed.

217 Aurorae dubio. Cf. line 433 *dubitanda luna.* Valer. Flacc. 2, 72 *iamque sub Eoae dubios Atlantidis ignes Albet ager.*

218 redditus color. Cf. Verg. A. 6, 272 *rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.* In the description of dawn in Sil. Ital. 10, 541 we find *sui terris rediere colores.*

219 See note on line 179.

220 The coast from Ostia to Centumcellae was deficient in harbours, for which reason they used small boats (*cymbae*), such as easily find shelter anywhere.

Professor Postgate (Class. Rev., vol. xxi., page 26) points out that in this passage *perfugium*, 'a refuge,' is used as a verbal like *effugium*, 'escaping,' and that *humus* is to be taken, not as 'ground,' 'soil,' but as 'terra firma,' 'shore.'

221 oneraria carbasa, 'the canvas of merchant-ships.'

222 mobilitate, 'quickness,' 'rapidity.' The word usually means 'changeableness,' 'inconstancy.' The sense is that in autumn it is safer to use quick-sailing boats, that can escape to port in a storm, than slow-sailing merchantmen.

223 Alsia. For this form of the adjective instead of *Alsiensis*, cf. Sil. Pun. 8, 476 sq. *Nec non Argolico dilectum litus Halaeso Alsium.*

praelegitur, 'is sailed past.' Cf. Tac. An. 6, 1 *Campaniam praelegebat*, where *praelego*, 'to sail past,' governs an accusative. The more usual word in the Augustan period for sailing past is *praetervehor*. Alsium, now Palo, was one of the most ancient towns of Etruria.

Pyrgi, now Santa Severa, was used as the seaport town of Caere. See Introd., page 51.

224 villae. An inscription found at Caere mentions the Villa Alsiensis; see Henzen-Orelli 5144, quoted by Itasius Lemniacus, page 115. For the form of expression cf. Verg. A. 6, 776 *Haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.*

225 Caere, now Cervetri—i.e. Caere Vetere—was called by the Greeks Agylla. See Introd., page 51.

226 'The ancient Agylla has lost its name through time.'

227 Stringimus, the nautical term for 'grazing,' 'hugging' the shore. Cf. Verg. A. 5, 163 *Litus ama, et laevas stringat sine palmula cautes.*

230 (232) The town here referred to is Castrum Novum, on the coast of Etruria. Castrum Inui, with which Rutilius confounds it, was on the coast of Latium. There was another Castrum Novum in Picenum. See Introd., page 51.

231 (229) For **praesidet**, 'is guardian,' 'is tutelary deity of,' cf. Verg. A, 7, 800 *quis Iuppiter Anxurus arvis Praesidet.* The word, however, is not used only of the protection of a deity: see Liv. 10, 17 *nullus iam exercitus Samnio praesidet.* Ib. 22, 11 *alii, ut urbi praesiderent, relicti.* The meaning, no doubt, is that there was a statue of the god before the gate mentioned in line 228.

formatus. Cf. Claud. Cons. Olyb. et Prob. 98 *Electro Tiberis, pueri formantur in auro.* Symmach. Ep. 10, 12 *hinc factum est, ut rusticis adhuc saeculis optimi quique civium manu et arte formati in longam memoriam mitterentur.*

232 (230) Inuus is here identified with Pan or Faunus, and is equipped with horns, in common with all shepherds' gods. See Macrob. Saturn. 1, 22 *ergo Inui cornua barbaeque prolixa demissio naturam lucis ostendunt.* Servius on Verg. Ecl. 2, 31 *habet enim* [Pan] *cornua in radiorum solis et cornuum lunae similitudinem.* Silvius Italicus 13, 326 says of Pan, *ac parva erumpunt rubicunda cornua fronte.* The reading of B *nomina* for *cornua*, Hosius thinks, is a reminiscence of Ovid. Tr. 1, 1, 110 *Et sua detecta nomina fronte geret.*

233 Cf. Hor. C. 1, 17, 1 sq. *Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem Mutat Lycaeo Faunus.*

234 For **sinus**, 'woodland recesses,' 'dells,' cf. Ov. M. 5, 608 *usque sub Orchomenon Muenaliosque sinus.* Auson. Mosella 155 *Et rupes et aprica iugi flexusque sinusque Vitibus assurgunt.*

incola. Faunus was 'native to the place'; Pan was a foreign god from Greece.

init. Mueller takes this as perfect for *iniit*, to correspond with *mutavit* in preceding line.

236 Cf. Ov. F. 1, 397 *Panes, et in venerem Satyrorum prona iuventus.*

237-248 They put in at Centumcellae, which is described at some length.

237 Centumcellas. See Introd., page 51 sq.

238 statione, 'anchorage,' 'roadstead': cf. Verg. A. 2, 23 *Nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis.* For the general character of the description in the following lines, cf. Verg. A. 1, 159 sq. *Est in secessu longo locus; insula portum Efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto Frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos; Hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur In caelum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late Aequora tuta silent; tum silvis scena coruscis Desuper horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra; Fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum; Intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo, Nympharum domus; hic fessas non vincula navis Ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu.*

240 insula facta, 'an artificially-made island.' Cf. Ov. M. 11, 728 *adiacet undis Facta manu moles.* See also line 529, where, referring to the peninsula on which Triturrita stands, the poet says *Namque manu iunctus procedit in aequora saxis.*

tegit, 'shelters.' Cf. Caes. B. C. 3, 26, 4 *qui portus ab Africo tegebatur, ab Austro non erat tutus.*

241 The subject of **attollit** is *insula*, 'the island raises two towers'—or, as we would say, 'two towers are erected on the island.' The following words mean that the island or mole constructed before the mouth of the harbour divides the entrance into two, and leaves two narrow passages, one on each side, instead of a single wide opening.

244 This line should be connected with the following, not the preceding, words, and should therefore be followed by a comma (not a colon, as in Mueller's text); and the preceding line should end with a semicolon (not a comma, as in Mueller's text) after *portu*. The slightness of the pause at the end of the pentameter is of less importance in a somewhat prosaic description of details.

For **vaga** as an epithet of the 'wandering,' 'wanton' wind, cf. Hor. C. 3, 29, 23 sq. *caretque Ripa vagis taciturna ventis.*

For **ventilet,** 'fan,' 'rock,' 'toss,' 'disturb,' cf. Ov. Am. 1, 7, 54 *Populeas ventilat aura comas,* 'disturbs the foliage.'

245 Zumpt explains **aedes** here as equivalent to νεώσοικοι, 'docks.' There seems, however, no reason to depart from the usual explanation—namely, that the inner harbour ran in among the houses of the town.

246 Instabilem. Cf. Caes. B. G. 4, 23 *res maritimae celerem atque instabilem motum habent.* The meaning is, that the water is smooth and unruffled by the wind.

nescit. See note on line 27.

247 Euboicis here means 'Cumaean,' as Cumae in Campania was founded by Cumae in Aeolis, in conjunction with Chalcis and Eretria in Euboea.

Captiva refers to the water being enclosed by banks and moles.

Natatus literally means the act of swimming, not the swimming-bath; so the

literal translation is 'in Euboean [i.e. Cumaean] swimming'—i.e. when men are swimming in the lakes near Cumae.

248 Zumpt thinks the allusion in **alterno sinu** is to Lake Avernus and the Lucrine Lake, which were not far from Cumae, and were connected together by Augustus; and he explains the expression as 'sinus inter se oppositi, contra se positi.' He quotes Martial 1, 63 *Dum modo Lucrino, modo se permittit Averno, Et dum Baianis saepe fovetur aquis.* It is, however, pretty certain that Schenkl is right in explaining **sinus** of the circle or sweep described in the water by the arm in swimming. 'As the water supports the sluggish arms in their alternate sweep,' 'as they sweep round on each side.' Cf. Propert. 1, 11, 12 *Alternae facilis cedere lympha manu.*

For the sense of *alternus*, cf. Stat. Silv. 1, 3, 25 *alternas servant praetoria ripas*, 'the opposite banks.' Claud. Mall. Theod. prol. 16 *alternas aves*, 'the eagles which stand opposite to each other.'

lenta, 'sluggish,' 'lazily-moved,' refers to the smoothness of the water, which makes exertion unnecessary for the swimmer. Cf. Ov. Her. 19, 48 *Lentaque dimotis brachia iactat aquis.*

249–276 They visit the neighbouring Thermae Taurianae, which place is described and its traditions recounted. A poem written by Messalla on the district, and inscribed on the pillars of a temple, gives Rutilius an opportunity for sketching the career of the writer, and pronouncing a eulogy upon him. See Introd., pages 31 sq.

249 tauri dictas de nomine thermas. See Introd., pages 52 sq.

250 milibus ire tribus. The use of the ablative instead of the accusative is remarkable. It seems as if the poet treated *nec mora ire* as equivalent to *distantes* (agreeing with *thermas*), with which word, of course, the ablative would be regular; substituting 'nor is it a serious delay to go three miles' for 'distant by three miles,' but using the case that is correct only with the latter expression. The use of the ablative here is not justified by the somewhat similar irregularity of a time construction in line 205. The meaning is—We do not grudge the delay of a three-miles excursion.

251 sq. 'There the water is not spoiled by a brackish flavour, nor is the water coloured and heated by fuming sulphur; the pure smell and delicate flavour make the bather hesitate as to which purpose the waters should rather be used for'—i.e. whether for drinking or bathing. The alternative, as Zumpt says, would be more accurately expressed by *utra parte* than by *qua parte*.

257 For the accusative **pugnam** with **praeludere**, cf. Claud. Stil. 2, 335 *Hic ego promissam subolem speratque mundo Pignora praelusi.* Avien. Descr. Orb. 1364 *Discursuque sacro praeludit proelia Liber.*

259 Hosius thinks *arma* of the MSS. should be retained; and so does Zumpt, who argues that *arma* is appropriately used of the horns (*cornua*) which the bull used in unearthing the spring. The reading of B *ora* may be a reminiscence of Verg. A. 1, 658 *faciem mutatus et ora Cupido.* Ib. 5, 477 *Dixit et adversi contra stetit ora iuvenci.*

261 sq. The story of how Jupiter, assuming the form of a bull, carried off to

Crete, across the sea, Europa, the daughter of the Phoenician King Agenor, is told in Hor. C. 3, 27, 25 sq.; Ov. M. 2, 850 sq.

virgineum onus means the burden, load, consisting of the girl Europa, whom Jupiter, in the form of a bull, was carrying.

sollicitavit probably refers to the anxiety and alarm which Jupiter caused to Europa by carrying her off. Her alarm is mentioned both by Horace and Ovid. The meaning of the passage is—Just like him who, bent on snatching the stolen pleasures of union with Agenor's daughter, carried the frightened maiden across the sea. Literally, just as he who, about to snatch the joys of the theft from Agenor, filled with alarm his maidenly burden through the seas. The point of the comparison is that the bull that discovered the spring may really have been a disguised god, as the bull that carried off Europa was really Jupiter.

For *furtum*, a thing stolen, cf. Cic. Verr. ii. 2, 70, 171 *quae* (furta) *sine portorio Syracusis erant exportata*. Hor. S. 2, 4, 79 *dum* (puer) *furta lagarrit*. Both *gaudium* and *furtum* are *voces propriae* for the stolen joys of illicit love. Cf. Nemes. Ecl. 2, 7 *Tum primum dulci carpebant gaudia furto*.

263 For **arduus**, 'difficult to believe,' cf. Claud. in Eutr. 2, 316 *furtim tamen arduus mittit Cum donis promissa novis*. Id. Stil. 1, 295 *responsa quod arduus semper Eois dederis, quae mox effecta probasti*.

Perhaps **non** goes with *solos* rather than with *deceant*, which might explain why *non* and not *ne* is used—'let incredible marvels be a glory not to Greeks alone': let Italy also have her share. *Non* for *ne*, however, is not infrequent in poets even of the Augustan age. See Tibull. 2, 1, 9 sq. *Omnia sint operata deo; non audeat ulla Lanificam pensis imposuisse manum*. Ov. A. A. 3, 129 *Vos quoque non caris aures onerate lapillis*. Ib. 133 *Mundities capiatur; non sint sine lege capilli*. Verg. A. 12, 78 *Non Teucros agat in Rutulos*. Hor. S. 2, 5, 91 *Non etiam silens*.

264 fons Heliconis is Hippocrene, a fountain on Mount Helicon, in Boeotia, sacred to the Muses. It was said to have been produced by the horse Pegasus striking the ground with his hoof, whence Persius calls it Fons Caballinus.

For **pecus** used of a horse cf. Curtius 6, 17 *Bucephalum vocabant, quem Alexander non eodem, quo ceteras pecudes, animo aestimabat*.

265 There is probably a play on the resemblance of sound between **elicitas** and **latices** in the next line.

266 Cf. Ov. F. 3, 456 *Cum levis Aonias ungula fodit aquas*.

267 quoque goes with **nobilitatus ager**, not with **haec**. The meaning is—Greece cannot alone claim wonders; for the land also, which is celebrated in the verses of Messalla, has this fountain to set against Hippocrene. For a similar separation of *quoque* from the word it qualifies, cf. my note on Ov. M. 14, 158 sq. *Hic quoque substiterat post taedia longa laborum Neritius Macareus*, where *quoque* goes with *Macareus*.

Pliny, H. N. 2, 105, explains *spiracula* as *scrobes quaedam terrae, unde spiritus vel salubres vel letales emittuntur*.

Zumpt is hardly right in giving **comparat** here the meaning of 'matching,' as in the case of gladiators matched against one another. The meaning seems to be simply 'institutes a comparison.'

270 Postibus sacris. There was, doubtless, a temple to the Nymphs at the fountain. Cf. Plin. Ep. 8, 8, where, in describing the fount Clitumnus, he says *sparsa sunt circa sacella complura totidemque dei; sua cuique veneratio; suum nomen.* Sidonius Apollinaris Ep. 2, 2, describing the baths at his villa, says *pauci versiculi lectorem adventicium remorabantur, minime improbo temperamento, quia eos nec relegisse desiderio est nec perlegisse fastidio.* See the description of the warm medicinal springs of Aponus which Claudian gives in Idyllium 6.

271 primo de consule. The expression is not strictly accurate. The first Consuls were L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus. It was when Collatinus retired, on account of the odium attaching to his name, that P. Valerius Publicola, who is the person referred to here, was chosen as colleague of Brutus.

275 'He has shown what kind of dwelling-place eloquence demands; each man's eloquence is proportioned to his desire to be good.' This use of **sedem** seems to be justified by Claud. Stil. 2, 12 *Haec dea* [sc clementia] *pro templis et ture calentibus aris Te fruitur posuitque suas hoc pectore sedes.* Symmachus Ep. 4, 59 *qui sciam in pectoribus sedem esse religioni.* The conjecture *legem* for *sedem* is therefore unnecessary: see C. N. A comma (not a full stop, as in Mueller's text) should follow *sedem*, for the next line is explanatory.

276 Cf. Quintil. 12, 1 *Sit ergo nobis orator, quem constituimus, is, qui a M. Catone finitur, vir bonus, dicendi peritus; verum, id quod et ille posuit prius, et ipsa natura potius ac maius est, utique vir bonus.*

277–312 Next day, passing the shoals at the mouth of the Munio, they sight Graviscae and Cosa. A strange story of the cause of the ruin of the latter place is told. Towards evening they put in at the Portus Herculis. The place recalls reminiscences of the Lepidi and the injuries they did, or attempted to do, to Rome.

277 crepuscula, which is generally the evening twilight, is here used for *diluculum*, the morning twilight. So in Ov. Her. 14, 21 sq. *modo facta crepuscula terris; Ultima pars noctis, primaque lucis erat.* Cf. Avien. Progn. 115 *at decedentis postrema crepuscula noctis.* Symmach. Ep. 1, 7 *priusquam manifestus dies creperum noctis absolveret.* Sid. Apoll. Ep. 8, 3 *cum me defatigatum ab excubiis ad deversorium crepusculascens hora revocaverat.*

279 Paulisper. For a short time from this point they kept clear of the shore, and gave a wide berth to the shoals formed by the river Munio. They do not seem to have touched land between Thermae Taurianae and Portus Herculis, on Mons Argentarius. Graviscae and Cosa are only described as seen from the sea.

The **Munio**, called *Minio* by Vergil, A. 10, 183, is now called Mignone. It takes its rise in the hills to the west of the Lago di Bracciano, and falls into the sea between Civita Vecchia and the mouth of the Marta.

280 trepidant, of the restless motion of water, as in Hor. Ep. 1, 10, 21 *quam quae* (sc. aqua) *per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum.* Id. C. 2, 3, 11 *obliquo laborat Lympha fugax trepidare rivo.*

281 Graviscae. See Introd., page 53 sq.

fastigia rara, the housetops could be seen only here and there—no doubt on account of the woods mentioned in line 283.

283 The pine-groves mentioned here have disappeared. For the description compare Ausonius' description of the Moselle and the quivering reflection of the hills and trees on its mirror-like surface—line 194 sq. *Tota natant crispis iuga montibus et tremit absens Pampinus et vitreis vindemia turget in undis.*

286 Cosa. See Introd., pages 54 sq.

287 The story here told is not found elsewhere; but similar stories of the depredations of mice and other 'contemptible creatures' (*contemnendis animalibus*) occur in Pliny H. N. 8, 29 (43) *M. Varro auctor est a cuniculis subfossum in Hispania oppidum, a talpis in Thessalia, ab ranis civitatem in Gallia pulsam, ab locustis in Africa, ex Gyaro Cycladum insula incolas a muribus fugatos, in Italia Amunclas a serpentibus deletas. citra Cynamolgos Aethiopas late deserta regio est a scorpionibus et solipugis gente sublata, et a scolopendris abactos Rhaetiensis auctor est Theophrastus.* Ib. 10, 64 (85) *plurimi* [sc. mures] *ita ad Troada proveniunt, et iam inde fugaverunt incolas.* In the latter passage Pliny deals with the cause of the rapid increase of mice, and refers to the problem of the disappearance of their dead bodies. Cicero, Off. 2, 5, mentions among the causes of death to men *belluarum repentinas multitudines.*

291 The wars of the cranes and Pygmies are mentioned in Hom. Il. 3, 3 sq.

292 sua bella means wars such as it is natural for cranes to wage.

293 The Portus Herculis, now Porto Ercole, is called Cosanus by Livy (22, 11), because it lies near Cosa. On this, the second day of his voyage, the poet had travelled with a fair wind about fifty miles from Centumcellae to Portus Herculis.

294 For **mollior aura**, used of the wind falling, blowing more gently, cf. Ov. Tr. 4, 5, 19 *Utque facis, remis ad opem luctur- ferendam, Dum venit placido mollior aura deo.* Id. F. 2, 148 *a Zephyris mollior aura venit.* Next day the wind rose again: see line 314.

295 castrorum vestigia. The camp was that occupied by M. Aemilius Lepidus on the eve of his departure for Sardinia when pursued by Catulus.

sermo retexit. Cf. Claud. Bell. Gild. 325 *talia dum longa sermone retexunt.* Auson. Mosella 298 *Qui potis, innumeros cultusque habitusque retexens, Pandere tectonicas per singula praedia formas?* Stat. Theb. 3, 338 *multumque et ubique retexens, Legatum sese . . . isse.* Ammian. Marcell. 20, 5, 4 *et retexere superfluum puto, quotiens repulimus Alemannos.* Symmach. Ep. 1, 37 *sed quid diutius ea retexo.*

Four different members of the family of the Lepidi are here referred to. The first is M. Aemilius Lepidus, who, when consul along with Q. Lutatius Catulus in B.C. 78, endeavoured to rescind the laws of Sulla, and overthrow the aristocratical constitution he had established. The attempt seemed fraught with danger to the State, and in B.C. 77 Lepidus was declared a public enemy by the Senate. He thereupon marched against Rome, but was defeated at the Mulvian Bridge, on the Via Flaminia, by Pompey and Catulus, and was obliged to take to flight. Pompey proceeded against Brutus, who had taken up the side of Lepidus in Cisalpine Gaul, while Catulus followed Lepidus into Etruria. Being unable to hold his ground in Italy, Lepidus sailed from Cosa, or rather from the Portus Herculis, to Sardinia, where, however, he had similar bad fortune, and died soon afterwards. See Appian Bell. Civil. 1, 105, and Florus 3, 23.

299 Lepidus peior. M. Aemilius Lepidus, the Triumvir, was son of the M. Aemilius Lepidus last named. After long wavering between the Senate and Antony, he joined with the latter when, after his defeat at Mutina in B.C. 44, he took refuge with Lepidus, who then had a powerful army in his provinces of Gaul and Spain. The operations of the triumvirate formed by Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus are referred to in line 300. Lepidus tried to secure independence, and to acquire Sicily for himself: but he was easily subdued by Octavian, who, however, spared his life, and suffered him to retain the dignity of pontifex maximus, merely depriving him of his triumvirate, his army, and his provinces, and requiring him to live at Circeii under surveillance. He died in 13 B.C.

300 'Who waged the unholy war of the three confederates,' referring to the second Triumvirate, formed by Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus.

303 tertius. M. Aemilius Lepidus, son of the triumvir and Junia, the sister of M. Brutus, formed a conspiracy in 30 B.C. to murder Octavian on his return to Rome after the battle of Actium. Maecenas, prefect of the city, discovered the plot, seized Lepidus, and sent him to Octavian in the East, who put him to death.

305 Quartus. M. Aemilius Lepidus, who was the second husband of Drusilla, the favourite sister of Caligula. He conspired against Caligula with Lentulus Gaetulicus, and committed adultery with Agrippina and Livilla, the Emperor's sisters. This led to his execution in 39 A.D.

inrepere regno. Cf. Tac. An. 1, 7 *dabat* [sc. Tiberius] *et famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a republica videretur, quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione irrepsisse.*

307 Nunc quoque. The force of the aposiopesis is—Now, too, as well as in former times, there is a Lepidus to work evil; but report will more properly complain of men of our time. Zumpt suggests that the person alluded to is Claudius Posthumus Dardanus, brother of Claudius Lepidus, who played a not unimportant part in the history of the times, and is spoken of in most unfavourable terms by Sidonius Apollinaris, Ep. 5, 9. See Zumpt, Observationes, pages 81 sq., and Itasius Lemniacus, page 142.

308 semina dira, i.e. the stock of the Lepidi, who proved so baneful to the State. Tacitus, however, expresses a different estimate of the family, Annal. 6, 27 *Obiit eodem anno et M. Lepidus, de cuius moderatione atque sapientia in prioribus libris satis conlocavi. Neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est, quippe Aemilium genus fecundum bonorum civium, et qui eadem familia, corruptis moribus, illustri tamen fortuna egere.* For the use of *semina* cf. line 9.

311 sq. **Quidquid id est**, 'however that may be.' Cf. Verg. A. 2, 49 *Quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

mirus, &c. 'It is a wonderful routine in the chronicles of Latium that evil has so often recurred through the sword of the Lepidi.' Much—apparently unnecessary—difficulty has been made about this line, chiefly because **Lepidum** has been taken with **malum**, 'evil arising from the Lepidi.' It is surely simpler to connect *Lepidum*, i.e. *Lepidorum*, with **ense**. **Reccidit** seems to be used in a sense somewhat similar to that of *recidivus* in Verg. A. 4, 344 *Et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis*, 'restored Troy.' Heinse and Burmann read *rescidit*, and make

ordo of the preceding line the subject; but this gives an inappropriate sense. The wonder was not the checking of the evil, but its repeated recurrence through the lawless violence of the same family, the Lepidi, as is clear from the preceding lines. *Rĕcidit* or *reccidit* for *rĕcidit* is too common to need illustration.

313–348 Before dawn on the next day a favourable breeze springs up, and the voyage is resumed. Mons Argentarius and its situation are described. Igilium is sighted in the distance, and its importance as a place of refuge during the Gothic invasion mentioned. They touch at the river Umbro, where Rutilius wished to go on shore; but as the sailors were anxious to press on, he was obliged to proceed, with the result, however, that both wind and daylight failed them; and, unable either to advance or retreat, they had to land, and to pass the night in tents extemporised by the help of oars and boat-hooks.

313 discussis umbris. Cf. Verg. G. 3, 357 *Tum sol pallentes haud unquam discutit umbras.* The reading of V is, perhaps, *decussis*. Schenkl, however, thinks it is *decessis*—a use which he defends.

permittimur, 'we commit ourselves to the sea.'

315 Mons Argentarius, now Monte Argentario, which has two peaks—one to the south forming a promontory at Porto Ercole, while the northern one rises above Porto San Stefano. The mountain is connected with the mainland by two narrow strips of sandbank, which enclose between them a large and shallow salt-water lake. From the mainland there runs into this lake a narrow tongue of land, on which the town of Orbetello stands. The island, or rather peninsula, is much longer from north to south than it is wide from east to west. Hence, in the next line it is said to narrow (*artat*) the hills in a cross-direction, being only six miles across, while the distance round the coast-line is, according to Itasius Lemniacus, about twenty-two miles. Cf. Seneca, Hippolyt. 25, *qua curvati littora ponti Sunion urguet.* Lucil. Aetna 93 *extremique maris curvis incingitur undis.*

Caerula, 'the blue,' for 'the sea,' occurs again in II. 30. Cf. Verg. A. 4, 583 *caerula verrunt.*

319 The position of Monte Argentario, running out into the sea, is compared to that of the Isthmus of Corinth. In the Iliad Corinth is called Ephyre, and so often in the Latin poets. See Introd., page 46 sq.

320 Ionias findit aquas. The expression is inaccurate, as the Ionian sea lies on one side only of the Isthmus, the Aegean being on the other. Zumpt, however, justifies the use of the name Ionian in reference to both seas by a passage in Valerius Flaccus (1, 23), where he speaks of the rivers in the territory of Pelias, King of Thessaly, as flowing into the Ionian sea.

321 For **dispendia**, 'a round,' 'a circuitous route,' as opposed to *compendia*, 'a short cut,' cf. Martial. Ep. 9, 100, 5 *Tu qui longa potes dispendia ferre viarum.* Lucan. 8, 2 *Haemoniae deserta petens dispendia silvae.*

323 flexu is the 'winding' of their course in doubling the headland. So *flectere* is the nautical technical term for doubling a promontory. See Cic. Div. 2, 45, 94 *quod, qui navigant, maxime animadvertunt, cum in flectendis promontoriis ventorum mutationes maximas saepe sentiunt.* Id. Att. 5, 9, 1 *et Leucatam flectere molestum videbatur.*

325 On **Igilium** see Introd., page 47.

326 Quam sc. *insulam*, which explains the use of the feminine. The name of the island itself is neuter.

327 nuper. Probably in 408 A.D., about eight years before the poet's visit, when Alaric was on his way to his first siege of Rome, and also during the subsequent years. See line 331 and note there.

328 loci ingenio, i.e. because it was an island. This expression is used like the more common *natura loci*. Cf. Claud. Rapt. Pros. 1, 140 (*Ceres*) *Commendat Siculis furtim sua gaudia terris Ingenio confisa loci.* Sil. Ital. 14, 283 *ingenio portus urbs invia.* Stat. Silv. 2, 2, 44 *locine Ingenium an domini mirer prius.*

domini genio, i.e. the fortune of the Emperor Honorius, which is supposed to guarantee the island against hostile attack.

329 Gurgite modico, as well as *longinquo mari* in next line, go with *dissociata*, 'isolated as effectually by a moderate flood as by a long stretch of sea.'

victricibus armis. Cf. Verg. A. 3, 54 *Res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus.*

331 lacera ab urbe, referring to the sack of the city by Alaric in 410 A.D., of which Orosius 7, 39 says *Adest Alaricus, trepidam Romam obsidet, turba irrumpit.*

333 sq. The Goths had many cavalry, as also had the Huns, whom Ataulfus, Alaric's brother-in-law, had brought from Pannonia when he assisted Alaric in his invasion of Italy.

Plurima populaverat aequora means 'had harried many islands.'

terreno bello. Zumpt takes these words as ablative absolute, 'though it was a war by land,' i.e. not a naval war. The words may, however, be taken with *populaverat*, 'had wasted the seas,' i.e. the islands in the sea, 'with a kind of war suited for the land,' i.e. with cavalry warfare.

335 mira fides, 'it is hard to believe.' Cf. Stat. Silv. 3, 3, 20 *celeres genitoris filius annos (Mira fides) pigrasque putat properasse sorores.* Ib. 1, 3, 20 *Ipse Anien (miranda fides) infraque supraque Saxeus hic tumidam rabiem posuit.*

336 Cf. Martial Ep. 1, 87, 9 *nec urbe tota Quisquam est tam prope tam proculque nobis.*

337 Umbronem. See Introd., pages 45 sq.

non ignobile flumen, we would say—a not inconsiderable river.

339 'So easy a channel always lies open through (by means of) the descending current.' The expression **pronis undis** has caused much difficulty to commentators—"den früheren Erklärern den Kopf ziemlich warm gemacht hat," as Schenkl remarks. The Roman MS. omits *pronis*, to which word, however, there seems to be no objection. It is constantly used in reference to downward-flowing water, e.g. Verg. G. 1, 263 *Atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni*—a passage which may be used to illustrate, and which perhaps partly suggested, the present line. *Undis* is no doubt used, not of the waves of the sea, but of the water of the river; and *pronis undis* corresponds to *prono amni* in the passage of Vergil. The Umbro, the poet says, was a considerable river, the force of whose current was sufficient to check the advance of billows from the sea even in a storm; so that its channel afforded a safe and ample refuge for ships. It may be doubted

whether the bar where the two forces met would be easy to cross. The channel (*alveus*), however, may have been wide and calm enough.

341 succedere. Cf. Verg. A. 3, 276 *parvae succedimus urbi.* Ib. 7, 213 *nec fluctibus actos Atra subegit hiems vestris succedere terris.* Zumpt suggests that Rutilius wished to land and spend the night here, because not far from the shore there was a station of the Aurelian Way, which here runs close to the sea. The station is called Ad Umbronem in the itineraries.

343 Cf. Verg. A. 3, 568 *Interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit, Ignavique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris.* It is unnecessary to change *festinantem* to *festinantes*. See note on line 179.

345 metamur. The technical military term for laying out a camp. The spot chosen, Zumpt says, seems to have been between the rivers Alma and Pecora.

346 For myrtles on the shore cf. Mart. Ep. 4, 13, 6 *littora myrtus amat.*

347 subiectis, i.e. 'tents propped on oars.' Cf. Caes. B. G. 4, 17, describing the bridge over the Rhine, *ac nihilo secius sublicae et ad inferiorem partem fluminis obliquae agebantur, quae pro pariete subiectae et cum omni opere coniunctae vim fluminis exciperent.*

349–398 At dawn on the fourth day they proceed by the tedious process of rowing, and sight Elba, famous for its iron-mines. Rutilius takes the opportunity of pronouncing a panegyric on the latter metal as compared with gold. At noon, tired out by rowing, they stop at Faleria, where they arrive as a festival in honour of Osiris is being celebrated. They are disposed to linger here, but are disgusted at the treatment they receive from their host, who is a Jew, and who makes a most unfavourable impression on the poet. This circumstance gives occasion for an invective against the whole Jewish nation.

349 Cf. Verg. A. 7, 25 sq. *Iamque rubescebat radiis mare, et aethere ab alto Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis; Cum venti posuere, omnisque repente resedit Flatus, et in lento luctantur marmore tonsae.*

351 Ilva. See Introd., page 48.

352 Noricum, which corresponded to the greater part of Styria and Carinthia and a part of Austria, Bavaria, and Salzburg, was famous for its iron. Cf. Hor. C. 1, 16, 9 *quas neque Noricus Deterret ensis.*

353 The Bituriges were a powerful Celtic people in Gallia Aquitanica. Their name is preserved in Bourges. Zumpt remarks that in Elba there was not properly *structura*, i.e. wrought metal, as, owing to the want of trees for firewood, the ore had to be transported to the opposite coast of the mainland for smelting.

354 cespes is used here, as *gleba* is in line 352, of the ore from which iron is smelted.

356 The golden sands of the Tagus were famous in antiquity. See Lucan 7, 755 *Quidquid fodit Iber, quidquid Tagus extulit auri. Tartessiacus* is used by the poets for 'Spanish.' Cf. Claud. in Rufin. 1, 101 *Non Tartessiacis illum satiarit arenis Tempestas pretiosa Tagi.* Tartessus was a district in the south of Spain, on the banks of the Baetis, now the Guadalquivir. Some, probably wrongly, regard it as the name of a town, and identify it with Gades, now Cadiz, or with Carteia, now Crantia, at the head of the gulf of which Mount Calpe, now Gibraltar, forms

one side. Whether derived from the name of a district or of a town, the adjectives *Tartessius* and *Tartessiacus* were used by the poets to express the west, as appears from Ovid M. 14, 416 *Sparserat occiduus Tartessia litora Phoebus*, where see my note.

It was formerly thought that Tarshish of Scripture was identical with Tartessus in Spain. Carl Peters, however, in his book The Eldorado of the Ancients, deems it probable that Tarshish is the same as Sofala on the African coast, opposite Madagascar; and that Ophir is Rhodesia, and the same as Punt—i.e. the country between the lower Zambesi and the Limpopo river.

357 Materies, &c. Cf. Hor. C. 3, 24, 49 *aurum et inutile, Summi materiem mali.* Ovid M. 1, 140 *Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum.* Sulpicius Lupercus (Wernsdorf's Poet. Lat. Min., vol. iii., p. 235) calls gold *ferale pretium et turpis materies sceleris.*

359 Expugnant. Cf. Propert. 4, 12, 9 *Haec etiam clausas expugnant arma pudicas.* Hor. C. 3, 15, 9 *filia rectius Expugnat iuvenum domos.*

360 The allusion is to the story of Danae.

361 The allusion is to Philip of Macedon. Cf. Hor. C. 3, 16, 13 sq. *diffidit urbium Portas vir Macedo, et subruit aemulos Reges muneribus.* Plutarch, Aemil. Paul. 12 *ἐρρέθη γοῦν, ὅτι τὰς πόλεις αἱρεῖ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ Φίλιππος, ἀλλὰ τὸ Φιλίππου χρυσίον.*

362 The allusion is, doubtless, to the corrupt influence of favourites with the Emperor in procuring honours—as, for example, of Rufinus, and afterwards of Eutropius, with the weak Arcadius. See Claud. in Rufin. 1, 179 *profert arcana, clientes Fallit et ambitos a principe vendit honores.* Id. in Eutrop. 1, 196 *quicquid se Tigris ab Haemo Dividit hoc certa proponit merce locandum, Institor imperii, caupo famosus honorum.* Claudian says that when Honorius began to reign he put down corrupt canvassing. See Claud. III. Cons. Hon. 186 *Cumque suo demens expellitur ambitus auro. Non dominantur opes, non corrumpentia sensus Dona valent; emitur sola virtute potestas.* Id. Stilich. 2, 114 *Ambitio, quae vestibulis foribusque potentum Excubat et pretiis commercia pascit honorum, Pulsa simul.*

364 Cf. Tib. 1, 3, 50 *nunc leti multa reperta via.*

370 vile here means 'commonplace,' 'ordinary,' 'trite,' as in Hor. A. P. 132 *Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem.* Vergil uses it of fruit that is abundant and cheap. See G. 1, 273 sq. *Saepe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli Vilibus aut onerat pomis.* Ib. 227 *Si vero viciamque seres vilemque phaselum.* Sidonius Apollinaris, Ep. 2, 10, says that in his time sailors in rowing were in the habit of singing Hallelujah, just as at the present day Mohammedan sailors cry 'Yalla!' when hauling a rope, or at other work that requires united action. For this reason Barth suggests that *vile* is here an expression, on the part of the pagan Rutilius, of impatience at or dislike of this custom. The explanation given above, however, seems more probable.

371 Lassatum cursum, referring to their tedious progress by rowing: see line 349. Cf. Tennyson's Lotos-Eaters: *but evermore Most weary seem'd the sea, weary the oar, Weary the wandering fields of barren foam.* Baehrens' proposed reading *lassantem* sacrifices a poetic touch to the uncalled-for scruples of the logician and

grammarian. Unnecessary also is Castalio's *laxatum*, which Wernsdorf explains 'quem laxiorem, longiorem instituerunt,' in which sense, Zumpt remarks, we would rather require *laxandum*.

Faleria, or Falesia, is now Falese, or Felese, or Porto di Faliesi, and is blocked up with mud. See Introd., page 55.

373 sq. The worship of Osiris was introduced from Egypt. It was first introduced by private persons, but under the Republic was prohibited—for example, in 219 and in 56 B.C. After the battle of Mutina, in 43, Octavian and Antony dedicated a temple to Isis and Osiris; and when Augustus made the new division of the city into fourteen Regiones, the third Region bore the names of Isis and Serapis. The worship extended throughout the Empire, as various inscriptions show.

For the **pagi**, 'cantons' or 'parishes,' organizing festivals, cf. Hor. C. 3, 18, 11 sq. *vacat otiosus Cum bove pagus.* Id. Ep. 1, 1, 49 *Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax Magna coronari contemnat Olympia?* Ib. 2, 1, 139 sq. Cf. Goldsmith's Deserted Village: *all the village train, from labour free, Led up their sports beneath the spreading tree.* Zumpt (Observ., page 10) says that in 399 Honorius granted permission for merrymakings, provided there were no sacrifices or other rites. See Cod. Theod. 16, 10, 17.

377 villam, doubtless, means 'inn,' a sense in which the word occurs several times in Horace's Journey to Brundisium (Sat. 1, 5). Country seats or farms often had inns or taverns attached to them for sale of the wine produced on the estate. See Becker's Gallus, and Friedlander's Sittengeschichte, vol. ii., pages 21 sq. See also lines 381, 382, 527, 623.

lucoque vagamur. Wernsdorf's conjecture *ludoque vacamus* is in some degree supported by the reading of R *petimus lutoque vagamus* (with which, of course, he was unacquainted), for *vacamus* would show how the unusual form *vagamus* arose, and the impossible *lŭtoque* is nearer to *ludoque* than to *lucoque*. Wernsdorf's reading also makes excellent sense in the context: for in the preceding lines he mentions that local games were being celebrated, after which the words 'we have leisure for the games,' 'we devote ourselves to the games,' are obviously more appropriate than 'we wander in the wood,' and much more appropriate than 'we wander in the mud.' For the use of *vaco* cf. Juv. 8, 118 *Qui saturand urbem circo scenaeque vacantem.* I have, however, thought it best to retain *luco*, the reading of V—a reading which Zumpt thinks is further justified by the mention *vexatos frutices* in line 385.

379 Ludere, of fish, as in Terent. Adelph. 3, 3, 23 *congrum istum maximum in aqua sinito ludere paulisper.* Verg. A. 5, 594 *Delphinum similes, qui per maria humida nando Carpathium Libycumque secant luduntque per undas.* Ov. M. 3, 685 *Inque chori ludunt speciem, lascivaque iactant Corpora.*

381 sq. Itasius Lemniacus suggests that the bitterness of Rutilius' attack on the Jews here is the greater as it gave him an opportunity for covertly in some degree assailing the Christians, whom he could not well attack openly, as he was a high official of a Christian Emperor. Professor Vessereau, however, thinks that in the time of Rutilius a confusion of the Jewish with the Christian religion was no longer

possible, and that it is the Jews alone whom Rutilius assails. The attack on monasticism in lines 440 sq. he thinks does not necessarily imply hostility to Christianity.

382 Schenkl considers both *durior* and *crudior* too weak, and prefers Drakenborch's *dirior*, which, he thinks, falls in with the allusion to the King of the Laestrygones, of whom *dirus* is a common epithet. For the conjecture *acrior*, 'passionate,' 'fierce,' 'severe,' see C. N., and cf. Lucr. 6, 63 *dominos acres*. Plaut. Merc. 4, 4, 56 *uxor acerrima*.

384 The Romans were fond of pork, which made the abstinence of the Jews from swine-flesh seem to them all the more unnatural. Juvenal 14, 98 says of the Jews *nec distare putant humana carne suillam*. See Vopiscus in Aurel. 35 *Aurelianus et porcinam carnem populo Romano distribuit, quae hodieque distribuitur*. Tac. Hist. 5, 4 *Sue abstinent, memoria cladis qua ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat, cui id animal obnoxium*.

Dissociale for the more usual *dissociabile*.

385 Their Jewish host charges in their bill the bushes they disturbed and the seaweed they struck with their sticks, referring, no doubt, to the damage they were supposed to have done while wandering in the wood (see line 377) or loitering by the ponds (see line 378).

389 cui probably refers to *gens* in line 387, and the meaning is—that race is a root of folly, a race that finds cold sabbaths after its heart; but its heart is colder still than its religion.

sabbata. Martial 4, 4, 7 calls the Jews *sabbatarii*, 'sabbath-keepers.'

frigida, 'cold'—i.e. remiss, indolent, inactive. Cf. Sidon. Apoll. C. 5, 543 *otia frigus habent*. Tibull. 1, 2, 29 *Non mihi pigra nocent hibernae frigora noctis*.

391 Cf. Ov. A. A. 1, 415 sq. *Quaque die redeunt, rebus minus apta gerendis Culta Palaestino septima festa Syro*. Juv. 14, 105 *cui septima quaeque fuit lux Ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam*.

veterno, 'lethargy.' The Jewish or Christian sabbath is reproached with that lethargy against which Vergil says Providence took special precautions. See G. 1, 121 sq. *Pater ipse colendi Haud facilem esse viam voluit primusque per artem Movit agros curis acuens mortalia corda, Nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno*.

There is some doubt as to whether **turpi veterno** is abl. or dat. Zumpt takes it as abl., comparing Sen. Ep. Mor. 14, 3, 12 (91) *omnia mortalium opera mortalitate damnata sunt, inter peritura vivimus*. Ib. 8, 2, 15 (71) *omne humanum genus, quodque est quodque erit, morte damnatum est*. Ov. M. 3, 335 *aeterna damnavit lumina nocte*. Claud. in Prob. et Olybr. Coss. 170 *glacieque niger damnabitur Ister*. Id. Idyll. 4, 17 *loca continuo solis damnata vapore*. It may, however, be the dat. in the sense of *ad* or *in* with the acc. Cf. Lucret. 6, 1232 *morti damnatus ut esset*. Ov. A. A. 2, 387 *Nec mea vos uni damnat censura puellae*. Sil. Ital. 5, 242 *nisi quem dens ima colentum Damnasset Stygiae nocti*.

392 An allusion to God resting on the seventh day (Genesis ii. 1).

393 Catasta, properly the stage on which slaves were exposed for sale, is here probably used as a contemptuous term for a pulpit or lecture platform.

394 Nec is here equivalent to *ne . . . quidem*, as in line 446. Cf. Juv. 2, 152 *Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur.*

397 'Though the plague has been repressed, its contagion keeps spreading more widely.' **pestis** is the Jewish nation. For the use of the word cf. Cic. Sest. 14 *illa furia ac pestis patriae*, said of Clodius.

398 Cf. Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 56 *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

399–428 Displeased with their reception at Faleria, they leave the place, despite an unfavourable wind, and make for Populonia, which is described at some length. Here Rutilius receives the pleasing news that his friend Ceionius Rufius Volusianus has been appointed City Prefect at Rome.

399 surgit is often used of the wind 'rising'—e.g. Verg. A. 3, 130 *Prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntes.* Ib. 481 *et fundo surgentes desuper austros.* Avianus Fab. 16 *Ast ego surgentes paulatim desuper austros.* **surgere**, in the next line, is doubtless used for the more strictly correct *insurgere*, for the sake of the play on the word. See Verg. A. 3, 207 *Vela cadunt, remis insurgimus; haud mora, nautae Adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.* Ib. 3, 560 *pariterque insurgite remis.* Cf. also Verg. A. 10, 299 sq. *socii consurgere tonsis Spumantisque rates arvis inferre Latinis.* Zumpt, however, thinks that *surgere remis*, in line 400, means to put to sea by rowing.

401 On **Populonia** see Introd., pages 55 sq.

403 sq. The meaning is that at Populonia there was not a regular lighthouse, as at the island of Pharos, off Alexandria, which gave its name to such edifices in other parts of the world; but its place was supplied by an ancient castle on a high cliff, which castle also served for purposes of defence.

405 vetustas, 'ancient times,' 'antiquity'—i.e. men of old. Cf. Sil. 1, 26 *sic credidit alta vetustas.*

406 urget, 'overhangs.' Cf. line 316, and the passage from Seneca there quoted.

410 tempus edax. Cf. Ov. Pont. 4, 10, 7 *Tempus edax igitur, praeter nos, omnia perdet?*

411 interceptis muris. Cf. Ov. M. 6, 379 *terga caput tangunt, colla intercepta videntur*, 'seem to be wanting.'

413 Cf. Auson. Epigr. 35, 9 *Miremur periisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt; Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit.*

418 Delatam. Zumpt calls attention to a law (Theod. Cod. 14, 10, 4) which is addressed by Honorius to a certain Probianus, City Prefect, on the Ides of December, 416. Consequently Rufius could not at this time have actually entered on office; and the news Rutilius heard must have been merely that he was prefect designate.

419 The first three syllables of Volusianus are short, and therefore the name is inadmissible in elegiac verse. The full name is Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, who is referred to in line 168, where see note.

421 From this line, as it appears in Pithoeus, some editors have made the ill-grounded conjecture that Rutilius dedicated his poem to Venerius Rufius. See Introd., pages 27 sq. For the numerous readings suggested for this much-disputed

line see the C. N. In the absence of any quite satisfactory explanation of the line, I have let Mueller's reading stand. Those who read *Veneri* either regard it as the dative of *Venus*, 'most dear to Venus,' which seems irrelevant, or more usually as the vocative of *Venerius*; and this was doubtless the view of J. B. Pius, the editor of B, who represents the poem as dedicated to Venerius Rufius, probably on the strength of this passage.

422 dudum, viz. in line 168.

423 Rutilius had himself been Prefect of the City, and had received the customary congratulations of his friends. On such occasions it was usual to decorate the door-posts with garlands; so Rutilius here says—'Let a day of joyful observance, such as long since honoured my house with wreathed door-posts, pay a tribute of good wishes.'

426 Provecta est. Cf. Tac. H. 1, 1 *dignitatem nostram a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim.*

animae portio. Cf. line 493. Ov. Pont. 1, 8, 2 *Accipe pars animae magna, Severe, meae.* Sidon. Apoll. C. 21, 4 *Namque animae nostrae portio maior eras.* Hor. C. 1, 3, 8 *Et serves animae dimidium meae.* Ib. 2, 17, 5 *Ah te meae si partem animae rapit Maturior vis, quid moror altera?*

427 sq. The wording of this passage seems to show that Rutilius had looked forward to being again appointed Prefect of the City.

429–510 Setting out again at daybreak on the fifth day, they sight Corsica and Capraria, the latter occupied by monks, whom Rutilius criticizes unfavourably. He next comes to Vada Volaterrana, the difficult approach to which is described. Stress of weather compels him to take shelter in the Villa of his friend Albinus. He visits the neighbouring salt-pans. Here he meets his friend Victorinus, of whose career he gives a very favourable account.

429 In verse 399 he mentioned that they had to use oars, as the wind was against them. Apparently a change of wind now enables them to use their sails; yet, strangely enough, the same wind is mentioned in each case—in line 399 by its Greek name *Boreas*, and in 429 by its Latin name *aquilo*. Heinse, therefore, proposes to read *currere certamus* or *currere conamur* to indicate the difficulty of sailing against the wind. Zumpt, however, thinks a change is unnecessary, as he holds that *curamus* sufficiently expresses the difficulty of beating up against the wind. The word *reverso*, it may be added, properly implies a return, not a change, of the wind. It is possible that the north-wind, which was blowing strongly the day before, died down at evening, and next morning began to blow again, but less violently. The meaning may then be that they were able to use their sails, 'though the north-wind had returned.' If they had to tack so as to make headway against an unfavourable north-wind, it would explain why they went so far out of their route towards the west as to sight the distant Corsica.

430 For **Eous**, 'the morning star,' ἑῷος ἀστήρ, Lucifer, cf. Verg. G. 1, 288 *Aut cum sole novo terras irrorat Eous.* Sil. Ital. 9, 180 *Conscia nox sceleris roseo cedebat Eoo.*

431 For **obscuros montes** cf. Verg. A. 3, 522 *Iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis, Cum procul obscuros colles humilemque videmus Italiam.*

432 As the shadows of the mountains and the clouds are of the same faint, indistinct colour, their union makes the mountains seem higher than they really are.

For **nubiferum**, 'cloud-capped,' as epithet of a mountain-top, cf Verg. A. 4, 248 *Atlantis, cinctum assidue cui nubibus atris Piniferum caput.* Ov. M. 2, 226 *Aeriaeque Alpes et nubifer Apenninus.*

433 Cf. Verg. A. 6, 452 *agnoritque per umbram Obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense Aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.* Claud. Idyll. 1, 37 *qualis cum forte tenetur Nubibus et tenui vanescit Cynthia cornu.* Ov. Met. 2, 226 *Cornuaque extremae velut evanescere lunae.*

For **dubitanda** of 'uncertain' light cf. Claud. iv. Cons. Hon. 184 *Visa etiam medio populis mirantibus audax Stella die dubitanda nihil.*

434 reperta latet is an oxymoron—even when found, it is still concealed.

435 The shortness of the sea passage—the shortness of the distance between the island and the mainland—has given currency, has given support to the fictions of common report. The distance of Corsica from the mainland is about fifty-five miles. Strabo 5, 2, 7 says that it can be seen from the shore of Populonia: but from this statement Itasius Lemniacus dissents. The story referred to is that a Ligurian woman named Corsa, who was servant of a herdsman, having noticed that one of their cattle used to swim across the sea, and return much fatter and in better condition, conjectured that there must be a fertile island at no great distance. Search was consequently made, and Corsica discovered.

436 Mueller supports his conjecture *peterasse* by Ov. Am. 2, 10, 33 sq. *et quae lassarit arando Aequora, periuro naufragus ore bibat.* Id. Tr. 1, 2, 76 *Lotum mutandis mercibus aequor aro.* Baehrens, however, disapproves of the conjecture 'cum homo aret pontum imagine a pecore sumpta.'

437 Cyrnaeas, Κυρναῖος, from Κύρνος, the Greek name for Corsica. Cf. Verg. Ecl. 9, 30 *Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos.*

439 Processu pelagi, i.e. as we advance on the sea, as we continue our voyage. Classical writers generally use **processus** in the metaphorical sense—advance, progress, success. For the literal sense, however, cf. Verg. G. 3, 504 *Sin in processu coepit crudescere morbus*—'if in its course the disease becomes acute.' On Capraria see Introd., page 48 sq.

440 For **Squalet**, used of ill-kept, neglected, weed-grown land, cf. Verg. G. 1, 507 *squalent abductis arva colonis.* Luc. 1, 205 sq. *squalentibus arvis Aestiferae Libyes.*

441 For the use of **cognomen** when we would expect *nomen*, cf. Verg. Aen. 3, 163 *Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt.* Ib. 8, 48 *Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.* Propert. 5, 1, 69 *Sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum* Claud. in Eutrop. 2, 242 *gens una fuere Tot quondam populi, priscum cognomen et unum.*

443 They fear to enjoy the gifts of fortune, because they fear the losses she may inflict.

444 Quisquam for *quisquamne*, as Verg. A. 10, 65 *Aenean hominum quisquam divomque subegit Bella sequi?* Ov. ad Liviam 7 *Et quisquam leges audet tibi dicere flendi? Et quisquam lacrimas temperat ore tuas?* For similar expressions cf. Mart.

2, 80, 2 *Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriare, mori?* Claud. Stil. 1, 341 *ne timeare, times.*

446 For **nec** in sense of *ne . . . quidem*, cf. line 394 *nec pueros.*

For **pati** in sense of 'acquiescing in,' 'consenting to accept' good, cf. Plaut. Asin. 2, 2, 58 *fortiter malum qui patitur, idem post patitur bonum.* Id. Ps. 4, 7, 38 *neque tibi bene esse patere, et illis, quibus est, invides.* Burmann unnecessarily and improbably conjectures *tot mala*, or proposes to take *nec bona* in sense of *mala.*

447 sq. Two possible explanations are offered for the infatuation of the recluses —either they are like convicts undergoing a punishment due to them for their crimes, or they are suffering from the effects of bile. **Ergastula**, no doubt, here means, not a house of correction, but the inmates of such a house—penitentiary convicts. Both senses of the word are common. The use of **repetunt** in this connexion may seem strange, and perhaps *reddunt* might seem more natural; but no change is needed. There is a point in the use of *repetunt*, emphasizing the voluntary character of the monks' sufferings: they actually claim as a right and privilege a penalty for their deeds which most men would regard as an evil. I have adopted **factorum**, which Schenkl conjectured, apparently not knowing that it is in the margin of V. It gives a much more forcible and intelligible sense than *fatorum*; 'penalties due to them for their deeds' is the meaning required, not 'penalties assigned them by fate.' It is better to put a comma, not a full stop, after *tument* in line 448. The connexion of thought will then be—Whether the monks are like convicts claiming the penalties due to their deeds, or whether their gloomy hearts are swollen with black bile, it was so, it was under such circumstances that Homer attributed the disease of melancholy to Bellerophon when he took a dislike to the human race—i.e. Rutilius inclines to the latter hypothesis, and attributes the monks' love of seclusion to the disease of melancholy, such as led Bellerophon to shun mankind.

If *ergastula* is taken as 'prisons,' not 'prisoners,' the meaning is, 'the prisons exact the punishments they (the prisons) have a right to claim as their own for the evil deeds of the monks.'

448 For 'bile' as the cause of melancholy and madness see Plin. N. H. 11, 37 (75) *sed in felle nigro insaniae causa homini. Hinc et in mores crimen bilis nomine.* Cic. Tusc. 3, 5, 11 *quem nos furorem, μελαγχολίαν illi vocant. Quasi vero atra bili solum mens, ac non saepe vel iracundia graviore, vel timore, vel dolore moveatur.*

450 This is probably the only example in Latin literature of a pentameter consisting of two words.

451 sq. See Hom. Il. 6, 200 sq. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κεῖνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν, ἦ τοι ὁ κὰπ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήιον οἷος ἀλᾶτο, ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων. Homer does not use the word 'bile' in this passage; but Rutilius regards it as implied in ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων κ.τ.λ. Cicero translates part of the passage from the Iliad in Tusc. 3, 26, 63 *Qui miser in campis moerens errabat Aleis, Ipse suum cor edens hominum vestigia vitans.* Cf. also Auson. Ep. 25, 70 *ceu dicitur olim Mentis inops coetus hominum et vestigia vitans Avia perlustrasse vagus loca Bellerophontes.* The cause of Bellerophon's grief was the loss of his children, as is told in the Iliad, just after the passage quoted above.

For **tela doloris** cf. Cic. Fam. 5, 16, 2 *fortunae tela*; and Hamlet, Act 3, Scene 1, *The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.*

453 On **Volaterrana Vada** see Introd., pages 56 sq.

454 dubii, &c. 'I thread my way through the deep part of the treacherous channel.' Cf. Verg. A. 3, 706 *Et vada dura lego saxis Lilybeia caecis.*

455 The look-out man looks down, peers into the waters and guides the obedient helmsman (literally, the helm that follows), and steers the ship by warning cries.

For **prorae custos** in the sense of *proreta* cf. Ov. M. 8, 617 *prorae tutela Melanthus.*

457 sq. A dividing line on each side marks out, distinguishes, by two trees the uncertain entrance and presents stakes fixed on each side. The word **limes**, which is properly a cross-path or balk between fields, is here used of the channel between the shallows.

For **uterque** Schrader conjectures *utrimque*, and that no doubt is the meaning, but the emendation is hardly necessary.

Incertus the MSS. reading was probably due to *prorae custos* of line 455, and if read should be taken with that word and not with *limes*: (the look-out man) 'when in doubt distinguishes the entrance by two trees,' but Castalio's emendation *incertas*, as in the text, may be adopted with certainty.

459 Zumpt says laurel branches were used because they bear foliage even when severed from the tree.

461 Most editors follow V in reading *viam*; but Hosius prefers *algam*, the reading of R and B; *praebente algam* is the more unusual expression, and not likely to have been substituted for *praebente viam*. The meaning he thinks is that though the sea-weed from the accumulation of mud overgrew and obscured the borders of the passage, yet the foliage of the branches served to indicate and mark out the channel.

symplegade. The shifting mud-banks are compared to the two rocky islands in the Euxine, which, according to the fable, floated about and dashed against and rebounded from each other until at length they became fixed when the Argo had passed between them.

This obvious reference to the πέτραι συμπληγάδες makes Zumpt's conjecture *symplegmate*, which would obscure the allusion, very improbable.

463 Muller supports his conjecture *rabidi* for **rapidi** by Claud. Nupt. Hon. et Mar. Fescen. *Rabidi tacete cori*, but there seems to be no reason for departing from the perfectly natural reading of the MSS. Cf. Prop. 2, 16, 45 *Haec videam rapidas in vanum ferre procellas.*

464 For **frangere** used of the effect of wind on trees cf. Verg. G. 2, 441 *silvae, Quas animosi Euri assidue franguntque feruntque.*

For **lustra** of forest glades cf. Verg. A. 4, 151 *Postquam altos ventum in montes atque invia lustra.*

466 For **Albinus** see Introd., page 32.

villa here no doubt means 'the country seat' or 'chateau' of his friend Albinus, and not 'inn,' as in line 377. The context in each case must decide the sense.

468 togae. The toga, which had fallen into disuse for ordinary wear, was the official dress of Senators, the Prefect, and other office-bearers. See Itasius Lemniacus, page 87, on line 157.

469 sq. The meaning is, he was appointed to office at an unusually early age, but his merits made up for want of years; though but a lad in years, he had the weight and dignity of age. Cf. Sil. Ital. 8, 466 *Ora puer puerique habitu, sed corde sagaci Aequabat senium atque astu superaverat annos.*

472 favor, 'goodwill,' 'regard.'

473 'He preferred that I should hold the reins of office, though he might have defeated me.'

For **habenas** cf. Ov. M. 15, 481 *Accepisse Numam populi Latialis habenas.*

474 decessor, 'predecessor,' cf. Cic. Scaur. Fragm. 33 *successori decessor invidit.* Tac. Agr. 7 *Agricolam . . . vicesimae legioni . . . praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur.*

475 The place is now called Padule. The salt-pans have disappeared, but they existed till A.D. 754. See Zumpt.

476 'For the salt marsh is valued on this score,' 'for this reason.' For this use of **censetur** cf. Senec. Ep. 76 *id in quoque optimum est, cui nascitur, quo censetur.* Sueton. Grammat. 10 *Eratosthenes multiplici variaque doctrina censebatur.*

For the use of **nomine** cf. Cic. Fin. 2, 7, 21 *qui cum luxuriose viverent, non reprehenderentur eo nomine.*

479 For **Sirius** the dog-star cf. Ov. F. 4, 939 sq. *Est canis (Icarium dicunt), quo sidere moto Tosta sitit tellus praecipiturque seges.*

481 For **cataracta** in the sense of 'a water-sluice' or 'floodgate' cf. Plin. Ep. 10, 69, 4 *expeditum erat cataractis cursum aquae temperare.*

482 fixos latices, cf. line 246 *Instabilem fixis aera nescit aquis.*

484 The caking of the incrustation of salt as the water is dried up by the sun is compared to the coagulation of water in a frost, for which cf. Verg. G. 3, 360 *Concrescunt subito currenti in flumine crustae.*

485 For the freezing of the Danube see Jornandes de reb. Get. 55 *Ister fluvius ita rigescit, ut in silicis modum vehat exercitum pedestrem plaustraque et tragulas et quicquid vehiculi fuerit.* Ovid often refers to it in his Tristia and his Letters from Pontus.

487 naturae causas. The more classical expression is *rerum causas,* cf. Ov. M. 15, 67 *magni primordia mundi Et rerum causas, et quid natura, docebat.*

Baehrens who reads *naturam* for *naturae* understands *rei illius miraculosae* with *causas.*

488 Zumpt points out that **fomes,** literally 'touchwood,' is here practically 'cause'; **opus** 'effect.'

489 For **concipere solem,** 'to catch the sun,' 'feel the effects of the sun's rays,' cf. Ov. M. 7, 108 sq. *ubi terrena silices fornace soluti Concipiunt ignem liquidarum aspergine aquarum.* Ib. 1, 254 sq. *ne forte sacer tot ab ignibus aether Conciperet flammas, longusque ardesceret axis.*

493 Victorinus, see Introd., pages 32 sq.

nostrae pars mentis. Cf. line 426.

496 capta Tolosa, Ataulfus took Toulouse in 413.

497 Heinsius' conjecture *in* before **duris** is unnecessary: see Ov. A. A. 2, 437 *Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis.* Claud. vi Cons. Hon. 582 *Quo* (die) *tibi confusa dubiis formidine rebus.* Id. in Eutr. 1, 25 *Fortuna, humanis quantum bacchabere rebus.*

499 Victorinus had been Vicarius Britanniarum.

500 quaecumque is naturally used, as Britain was divided into five provinces.

ferox Britannus. Cf. Tac. Agr. 11 *in deposcendis periculis eadem* (quae Gallis) *audacia, et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit.*

501 praefectorum, &c. 'his curbed, moderate authority when he held the office of *vicarius* has the lasting tribute (the *fenus*, interest paid, on his investment of good conduct in governing was the good will of the governed, of great affection,' i.e. the moderation with which he exercised the office of *vicarius* won a lasting tribute of affection from those over whom he ruled.

Zumpt, who explains *frenata* as *gesta, administrata*, fails to give the strict sense of *frenata*, which, however, it would seem, is required in order to give much point to the following line. It was not the mere holding of the office, but the holding of it with moderation and self-restraint, that won the lasting affection of the governed.

The passages quoted by Zumpt in support of his explanation of *frenata* labour under the disadvantage of not containing the verb *frenare*, but *regere, moderari, gubernare*, which are only remotely applicable.

Zumpt says the *vicarii* are regularly said *agere vicem praefectorum*. Amm. Marcell. 15, 4, 10; or *agere vices praefectorum*, Theod. Cod. 2, 33, 1 and 16, 10, 2; Cassiod. Var. 11, 4; and *vice praefectorum cognoscere*, Theod. Cod. 11, 30, 16.

503 pars is here equivalent to *regio, terra.* Cf. Cic. Mur. 41, 89 *Orientis partes.* Ov. Tr. 3, 3, 3 *in extremis ignoti partibus orbis.*

504 The word **rector** is here used in a somewhat wider sense than it strictly bears. A *vicarius* should not be called *rector*, as the latter official is subordinate to the former.

For the sentiment cf. Claud. Hon. 4, 269 *Hoc te praeterea crebro sermone monebo, Ut te totius medio telluris in orbe Vivere cognoscas, cunctis tua gentibus esse Facta palam.*

505 Plus palmae est means 'it is a greater distinction,' a palm-branch being a token of victory.

507 Illustris comes, aide-de-camp of the Imperial Court, *Illustris* being, as Hodgkin says, approximately equivalent to The Right Honourable. The title seems to have been given to Victorinus as a purely honorary one, and without any duties to discharge. The law of Theodosius and Valentinianus (Cod. Just. 12, 8, 2) distinguishes three classes of Comites Illustres—in *actu positi*, who actually held some office; *vacantes*, those who were on the list for appointment, though not actually holding office, and *honorarii*, those whose position was purely honorary or

titular. To the last class Victorinus, no doubt, belonged; for he could hardly otherwise have indulged his love of the country (mentioned in line 508) by remaining in it, but must have lived at court.

sacrae aulae, the sacred, i.e. the imperial court or retinue. The epithet 'sacred' was regularly used of the Emperors and what concerned them, though Suetonius says in earlier times Tiberius objected to the expression. See Suet. Tib. 27 (*Tiberius*) *alium dicentem sacras eius occupationes verba mutare et pro sacris laboriosas dicere coegit.*

508 For **gradus** in the sense of *honores*, used of 'steps,' 'degrees,' 'grades' of rank, cf. line 591 and Claud. Epithal. Pallad. et Celer. 66 *Per cunctos iit ille gradus aulaeque labores Emensus.* Symmachus Ep. 9, 67 *ut tibi ad celsiores gradus ianuam pandas.* Ib. 9, 91 *opto adaugeat gradum meritis iure delatum continuata felicitas.* Ib. 4, 37; 9, 1 and 9, 53. So in Cicero Cat. 1, 11, 28 *qui (populus) te tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit.*

509 sq. 'Embracing him I cheated, eluded, beguiled the winds' hostility, in fancying I was already enjoying some portion of my native land.'

For **adversa** cf. Tac. Agr. 25 *adversa tempestatum et fluctuum.* For **fefelli** cf. Ov. M. 8, 652 *medias fallunt sermonibus horas Sentirique moram prohibent.* Hor. S. 2, 7, 14 *Iam vino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam.* Ib. 2, 12 *Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem.*

511–540 On the sixth day of the voyage they pass the island of Gorgon, the scene of the recent tragic death of a recluse. They next come to the Villa Triturrita. The strange character of the neighbouring harbour, the Portus Pisanus, is described.

511 sudus is literally 'dry,' 'without moisture,' and is often used of the weather, 'cloudless,' 'bright,' 'clear'—'golden, saffron-coloured dawn had brought into view her bright team.' For **iugales** used as a substantive, 'a team,' cf. Verg. A. 7, 280 *currum geminosque iugales.* Aurora is represented sometimes with a two-horse chariot, sometimes with a four-in-hand; see Verg. A. 6, 535 *Hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis Iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem.* Ib. 7, 26 *Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis.*

512 tendi. With this verb *vela* would be more appropriate than **antennas**; but the hauling up of the sail-yards and the bending of the sails are, of course, different parts of the same process.

litoris aura, 'a breeze from the land,' 'an off-shore breeze,' which would in this case be the Vulturnus, a south-east wind, and favourable for the voyagers (see line 314). They had before been weather-bound by a breeze from the opposite direction, Corus—a north-west wind: see line 463 above.

513 It is so calm, and the motion of the ship so smooth, that even the stern ornaments show no sign of vibration.

514 Mollia, 'slack,' is a natural epithet of sails in a calm, as contrasted with their stiffness when stretched taut by a high wind. The epithet is used by Ovid of a bow that is slack by too much use: see Her. 4, 92 *Arcus . . . Si nunquam cesses tendere, mollis erit.* For **tremunt** of flapping sails cf. Lucr. 4, 77, where the verb is used of the awning spread over a theatre.

515 For **adsurgit** to describe the appearance of high ground rising as one

approaches, cf. Liv. 22, 4 *colles adsurgunt*. Plin. 4, 12, 22, § 66 *Delos adsurgit Cynthio monte*. Compare also the expression, line 439, *Processu pelagi iam se Capraria tollit*.

Gorgon. See Introd., page 49.

516 Literally, between the side of Pisa and of Corsica—i.e. with Pisa and Corsica on either side. Zumpt, however, explains **latus** as 'seaboard,' 'coast,' for which use he might have compared Juv. 8, 117 *Illyricumque latus*.

517 Zumpt adopts the reading of Pithoeus, *Adversus scopulus*, which he explains, 'ex adverso, contra positus est'—not as Damm unjustifiably does, 'odiosus mihi est hic scopulus.' The emendation adopted in the text, however, seems preferable. Cf. Verg. A. 3, 272 *Effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna, Et terram altricem saevi execramur Ulixei*.

519 Zumpt proposes to identify the **noster iuvenis** here mentioned with one Quintilian, a brother of the Exuperantius to whom St. Jerome refers in Letter 99, as having abandoned military service and devoted himself to the perfect Christian life. St. Jerome, however, speaks of Quintilian as having retired to Bethlehem, not to the island of Gorgon; and Zumpt's assumption that he may have previously gone into retirement in the island seems to be quite arbitrary, and unsupported by evidence. Heinsius thinks the person referred to was a certain Paulinus, a man of wealth and celebrity at the time. Zumpt, however, says he was a bishop at the time, and his retirement to the island of Gorgo is not mentioned by his biographers. We, in fact, know nothing of the person referred to, except what is told in this passage; and it does not seem possible to identify him. From the words *perditus erat*, in line 518, Schenkl infers he was already dead. See also Introd., pages 30 sq.

Noster. The use of this word has been supposed to suggest that the **iuvenis** was a family connexion of Rutilius. There is little likelihood in the view that it means 'of our way of thinking,' i.e. Pagan. If that explanation, however, were adopted, the meaning might be: Though lately belonging to our school of thought, he has been mad enough to take to the practice of monkish asceticism.

520 For the expressions cf. Symm. Ep. 6, 3, where, in seeking a wife for his brother Fulvius, he says of him that he was *nec genere minor et re fortassis uberior*. Sid. Apoll. Carm. 11, 92 *Quare, age, iungantur; nam census, forma genusque Conveniunt*.

521 B's reading *divosque* for *terrasque* may be, as Hosius says, a reminiscence of Verg. A. 10, 175 *hominum divomque*.

522 Zumpt, who retains the MS. **agit**, explains **latebram**, not as 'hiding-place,' but 'the act of hiding'; and compares Lucret. 5, 750 *Solis item quoque defectus lunaeque latebras*.

credulus exul is explained by the following line. He was so superstitious and easy of belief as to fancy, poor fellow, that the divine element in man is fostered by a life of squalor.

adit is the perfect for *adiit*. Cf. line 234 *init*.

523 For *pasci* in reference to mental states cf. Claud. Ep. 1, 22 *pascatque furorem*. Sil. Ital. 12, 721 *Iuppiter et quantis pascat ferus ignibus iras*. Ov. M. 9, 749 *spes est, quae pascat amorem*.

525 Zumpt seems right in retaining **num**. The meaning is, 'does this sect fall short of the poisons of Circe? does it work less efficaciously than her drugs? No, for *she* changed and degraded the bodies of men, but *this sect* has debased their minds.' The reading *non* for *num* must be given a similar meaning; but it is less forcible and involves a less natural use of *deterior*. This word, as Zumpt says, is not the same as *peior*, but naturally means *minus valida, minus potens*, 'does it fall short of': but if *non* be read, it must here be taken to mean 'is it not more harmful than, worse than, &c.'

Zumpt illustrates the use of *deterior* by Corn. Nep. Eum. 3 extr. *equitatu plus valebat quam peditatu, quo erat deterior.*

527 Triturrita, see Introd., pages 57 sq.

villa. See note on line 377.

528 I have ventured to substitute *latere* for *latet* of the MSS. The latter word can hardly be satisfactorily explained, and was probably introduced because the clause seemed to require a finite verb. For the omission of *est*, however, in a similar clause cf. lines 389, 390.

The meaning is that the place runs into the sea so as to be nearly an island, i.e. so as to be 'a peninsula, dashing back the waves from its sides,' and this meaning is in fact more clearly expressed in the following lines where the peninsula is described as formed artificially of stones built out into the sea so as to make a foundation for the mansion.

For a somewhat similar use of *expellere* cf. Liv. 41, 3, 2 (nautae) *ab litore naves in altum expellunt.*

For *Expulsus* with abl. cf. II. 16 *aerio monte repulsa.*

Late, which is Mueller's reading, hardly gives an appropriate sense. It would apparently express that the waves were driven far off—a circumstance which, even if true, would hardly be emphasized in the context. The peculiarity of the position of the villa was that it lay in the midst of the waters.

Dr. Purser suggests *Quae iacta est pulsis*, or *Quae iacta expulsis*, on the analogy of *iacere fundamenta*, 'which, an all but island, has been laid by the expulsion of the waves.'

529 For *manus* used in reference to artificial work done by the hand of man cf. Caes. Bell. Gall. 3, 23 *oppidum natura loci et manu munitum.* Cic. Off. 2, 16 *sine hominum labore et manu.*

531 contiguum portum, i.e. Portus Pisanus, cf. II. 12. See Introd., pages 57 sq.

Common report throngs the harbour, i.e. represents it as thronged, with the merchandise (literally, the market-place) of Pisae and the riches of the sea. A somewhat analogous use of *frequento* occurs in Cic. Cat. 4, 7, 15 *quos cum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset*, 'this day had brought together, had assembled in great numbers.' Cf. also Col. poet. 10, 213 *mundum nova prole*, 'to stock.'

Schrader's conjecture *turba* for *fama* is unnecessary, though it would give a suitable sense.

533 The wonderful feature of the place is that though it is not sheltered by piers and lies open to the seas and winds, yet it is protected and made a sure refuge for shipping by a barrier of floating weed.

For **pulsantur,** 'are lashed' by the open sea, cf. Ov. M. 1, 42 sq. (*flumina*) *In mare perveniunt partim, campoque recepta Liberioris aquae, pro ripis litora pulsant.*

With the MS. reading *pulsatur* the subject is *locus.* The verb, however, as Zumpt says, is more appropriate with *litora*, and therefore Barth's reading *pulsantur* is adopted in the text.

535 bracchia, 'piers,' cf. Suet. Claud. 20 *portum Ostiae extruxit circumdato dextro sinistroque brachio.*

recessus is here the same as *sinus interior*, an inner harbour, which occurs in line 245 in the description of Centumcellae.

536 Aeolias minas, the threats of Aeolus, the god of the winds, i.e. threatening winds.

537 Seaweed tall enough to reach the top of the water forms a fringe to the sea of which it has taken possession, and which it has made its own. For the use of **praetexitur** cf. II. 33.

This seaweed does not harm a ship as it gently collides with it, and yet its tangle of network is able to check the billows rolling in from the open sea.

539 With Castalio's reading **interligat,** which, following Mueller, I have given in the text, the meaning is, the seaweed, though yielding, yet binds together, restrains, the raging waves—a fairly satisfactory meaning. Both the MSS., however, read *interrigat,* which Zumpt retains. The word does not seem to occur elsewhere, but Zumpt defends it by the use of the simple verb in Liv. 5, 16, 9 *emissam* (aquam Albanam) *per agros rigabis dissipatamque rivis extinques.*

Interiacet, which I have suggested as possibly the true reading, would express the appearance of the swaying seaweed as in giving way it still lay between, lay among, the raging waves and formed a sufficient barrier to prevent great billows rolling in from the deep. For the construction and use of the verb cf. Plin. H. N. 5, 4, 4, 27 *regio, quae duas Syrtes interiacet.*

541–614 The weather (clarus Eurus) next day is favourable for sailing: but, wishing to see his friend Protadius, he delays his voyage, and, leaving his ships at Triturrita, proceeds to Pisae by land, getting horses for the expedition from the tribune, who no doubt was his host at Triturrita. Next follows an account of his visit to Pisae. He describes the situation, and tells the story of its foundation. Among the sights he saw during his visit was a statue erected in honour of his father, whose career he is thus led to speak of at some length. He further digresses to tell of Decius as another example of a good ruler, and of Decius' father, Lucilius, who was not only a spirited writer of satire, but also, when holding official power, a vigorous represser of corruption.

541 navigium, which in classical writers means 'a vessel,' 'a ship,' is used in later Latin for *navigatio*, 'sailing,' 'navigation.' Zumpt quotes Dig. 45, 1, 122 *idque creditum esse in omnes navigii dies.* Ib. *redderet universam continuo pecuniam, quasi perfecto navigio.* Ulpian Dig. 43, 12, 1 *ait praetor, iterque navigii deterius fiat, hoc pro navigatione positum est* (sed addit) *imo navigium solemus dicere etiam ipsam navem.*

Eurus, the south-east-wind, called by the Latins Vulturnus, was favourable for

his voyage; but he detains his ships in harbour to allow of his visiting Protadius at Pisa—a journey which he makes by land.

542 The following lines, from 543 to 558, are parenthetical, and the present line in sense goes closely with 559—The weather was favourable for sailing; 'but' (*sed*) I wished to visit Protadius, 'and so' (*ergo* line 599) I left my ships in port, &c.

Protadius. See Introd., pages 33 sq.

544 Virtutis specimen, 'a model of virtue.' Cf. Cic. N. D. 3, 32, 80 *temperantiae prudentiaeque specimen est Q. Scaevola.* Baehrens, who reads *Virtutis speciem corde vigente petat*, has the following note:—"Summam illam virtutis imaginem animo, siquidem hic valet potestque ad eam adspirare, sibi fingat (cf. Lucret. 5, 1107)." Schenkl defends the MS. reading *speciem.*

I have followed Mueller in adopting the conjectures of Castalio and Heinsius. Professor Postgate (Classical Review, vol. xxi., page 27) keeps the MS. *speciem corde vidente petat*, governing *quem* of last line by *petat*, and *speciem* by *cognoscere* of last line, and explaining 'that anyone who would see Virtue personified should seek her in the presence of Protadius.' Itasius Lemniacus and Mathis, in their translations, seem rather to take the passage as I have done.

546 mixta. Cf. Claud. Stilich. 1, 33 sq. *sparguntur in omnes; In te mixta fluunt, et quae diversa beatos Efficiunt, collecta tenes.* The meaning is that the painter's brush could not give a truer portrait of Protadius than one would have by supposing all possible virtues united in one man.

547 The **certus vultus,** 'the steady gaze,' is evidence of the *certus animus,* 'the steady, well-balanced mind.' Cf. Cic. Quint. 24, 77 *satis animo certo et confirmato.*

550 praesulis. Protadius had been Prefect of the City—an office on which Symmachus (Ep. 4, 23) seems to congratulate him. It is probable he held office after his younger brother Florentius, who was Prefect of the City for three years from 395.

551 patriis sc. *sedibus*, i.e. Treves. As Pisa, where Protadius dwelt, is in Etruria, Umbria must here be used as including that country. The Umbri originally extended all across from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhene Sea. See also Introd., pages 33 sq.

556 Cincinnatos, i.e. such men as Cincinnatus. The story is told in Valer. Max. 4, 4, 7 *septem iugera agri possedit; ex hisque tria, quae pro amico ad aerarium obsignaverat, multae nomine amisit. Poenam quoque pro filio Kaesone, quod ad causam dicendam non occurrisset, huius agelli reditu solvit. Et tamen ei quattuor iugera aranti non solum dignitas patris familiae constitit, sed etiam dictatura delata est.*

557 haec, &c.—i.e. the fact that Protadius was content with a small property and humble house, after having had a great one, is as noble a thing as all that is told of Serranus or Fabricius. Cf. Verg. A. 6, 844 sq. *parvoque potentem Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem.*

559 Puppibus. For the plural see lines 179, 219.

fida in statione. Cf. Verg. A. 2, 23 *statio male fida carinis.*

560 There were two routes from Triturrita to Pisa—either as here by land,

which was the shorter, or by sea to the mouth of the Arno, and so up the river. For Pisae see Introd., pages 58 sq.

561 sq. From the words **tribunus** and **commilitium** in this passage, the editor of the Bologna edition erroneously inferred that Rutilius had himself been Tribunus Militum, and accordingly includes that title in the list of offices attributed to him in the superscription of the poem as it appears in that edition (see Introd., page 17, note). But the term *commilitium* may express comradeship without necessarily implying colleagueship in the same office; and, in fact, the office held by Rutilius is expressly mentioned in line 563—namely, Magister Officiorum. The Tribune here mentioned seems to have formerly served among the Scholares, or Imperial Guard, who were under the control of the Magister Officiorum. At the time of Rutilius' visit he was probably in command of the soldiers who were on garrison duty at Triturrita.

563 sq. Zumpt proposes to connect **magister** with **officiis**, sc. *datus* or *praepositus*, as a variety for *magister officiorum*. From this passage it has been wrongly inferred by Damm that Rutilius was Praefectus Praetorio; and indeed it is probably owing to this very passage that Praefectus Praetorio is included among the titles given to Rutilius in the superscription of the Bologna edition (see Introd., page 17, note). Wernsdorf, however, points out that the passage describes duties that belonged to the Magister Officiorum. The functions of the Praefectus Praetorio from the time of Constantine were confined to civil and judicial administration: of military functions he was entirely deprived. For an account of the duties of the Magister Officiorum in connexion with the court, in military matters and in the general administration of the State, see Zumpt, Observ., page 21.

565 Alpheae originis. These words are explained in lines 571 sq. Pisa was reputed to be founded from the town of the same name, near the river Alpheus, in Elis. Cf. Verg. A. 10, 179 *Hos parere iubent Alpheae ab origine Pisae.* Claud. Bell. Gild. 482 sq. *Quatitur Tyrrhena tumultu Ora, nec Alpheae capiunt navalia Pisae.*

566 For the identification of the river **Ausur**, and the change of its course since the fifth century, see Introd., pages 46 and 59. The name appears as Aesar in Strabo 5, 2, 5; as Auser in Plin. Nat. Hist. 3, 5; and Zumpt also quotes Hauser and Auxer.

568 frons is used in reference to persons approaching from the sea, who would, of course, enter the triangular space of ground, formed by union of the rivers, at the narrowest point where the apex extended only over a moderate piece of ground.

571 sq. The meaning, of course, is that Pisa was founded before Aeneas came to Italy. There was a tradition that Pisa in Italy was founded by the companions of Nestor, the inhabitants of Pisa in Elis, who were driven upon the coast of Italy on their return from Troy.

insereret. It is doubtful whether the verb here is *insero, sevi, situm*, 'ingraft'; or *insero, serui, sertum*, 'thrust in.' See my note on Ov. M. 13, 33, and the passages there quoted.

575 sq. Rutilius' father was Lachanius, as appears from line 595. See Introd., page 19, note 1.

sancti genitoris. Cf. Verg. A. 5, 80 *salve sancte parens, salvete recepti Nequiquam cineres.*

577 Laudibus, i.e. the laudatory inscription on the statue.

578 gaudia moesta, an oxymoron, 'mournful pleasure.' Cf. Claud. Bell. Get. 407 *Singultus varios lacrimosaque gaudia miscent.* Id. Bell. Gild. 228 *permisto tremuerunt gaudia fletu.*

579 sq. Lachanius had been *consularis Tusciae et Umbriae*, of which office the six fasces were the symbol. See Introd., page 20.

580 'Administered the jurisdiction entrusted to the six fasces,' *fascibus* being the dative, not the ablative, as Damm apparently thinks, who explains, *credita iura cum senis fascibus.* The *fasces consularium* are often alluded to; but that their number was six Zumpt says does not seem to be stated elsewhere (see Zumpt, Observ., xiv., page 40). In the time of Ulpian, however—that is, in the early part of the third century—proconsuls were allowed six fasces (Dig. 50, 16, 14). *Consularis*, which in earlier times denoted one who had held the office of consul, an ex-consul, by the fourth century had become a mere title of a particular class of provincial governors, irrespective of their ever having been consuls. Wernsdorf thinks that Lachanius held the office of Proconsul; but from this view Zumpt dissents, on the ground that in that age there were only three Proconsuls—viz., of Asia, Achaia, and Africa (see Observ., page 39).

582 sq. **plus.** His office among the Tuscans gave him more pleasure than the many other honours he enjoyed, which he refers to in line 581, and gives in detail in lines 583 sq. He had been Count of the Sacred Largesses, Quaestor, and City Prefect.

585 si fas est. Rutilius' religious veneration for Rome is so great that he regards it as almost impiety to prefer any dignity to that of Prefect of the City; and Zumpt (Observ., page 42) makes the expression an argument for referring the word **praefecturam** here to the position of City Prefect, not of Praetorian Prefect. A further argument to the same purpose may be drawn from lines 591 sq., where he speaks of not having fallen short of his father's dignities: a mode of expression that would hardly have been used if the father had not been City Prefect, as we know the son was.

588 The allusion is probably not to songs actually sung in honour of Lachanius, nor to words used in conversation, but to a laudatory inscription on his statue, see line 577. The conjecture of Heinsius, *alternas* for *aeternas*, is not only unnecessary but unsuitable, for the panegyric was to Lachanius from the Pisani, not to the Pisani from Lachanius. The *mutua cura* was the regard which, on the one hand, the conduct of the governor showed he felt for the people, and which, on the other hand, the people felt to him for his conduct; this regard was reciprocal and led to verses expressing gratitude (*grates canit*) being inscribed by the people on the base of the statue. That it was not unusual to erect a statue with a laudatory inscription in honour of a popular governor appears from a number of inscriptions quoted by Zumpt, Observ., page 40.

590 For **Insinuant**, 'make known to,' cf. Dig. 32, 1, 11, 2 *voluntatem suam heredibus.*

591 gradibus is here used of ranks of honour, as in line 508.

Degenerasse. This word is generally constructed with the preposition *ab.*

For the dative, however, as here, cf. Stat. Theb. 1, 464 *et Marti non degenerasse paterno.* Claud. iv. Cons. Hon. 367 *et patri non degeneraret Achilli.*

592 duplici sedulitate, i.e. with zeal on both my father's account and my own.

593 Flaminiae sc. *viae*, the great north road running through Umbria from Rome to Ariminum. That the road and not the province that bore the name Flaminia is here meant is shown by Zumpt, Observ. xiii. The expression **Flaminiae regionibus** is doubtless used in a vague and general sense for the parts of the province of Tuscia and Umbria that were in the direction of or adjoining the Flaminian Way.

595 The name **Lachanius** does not seem to occur elsewhere; and Burmann therefore proposes to read *Laecanius*, a name that is found in inscriptions. Professor Vessereau justly remarks that the fact of a name being unknown is not in itself a sufficient reason for rejecting it. He further points out that names of Greek origin were common at the time, e.g. Symposius, Porphyrius, Palladius, Endelechius, Dracontius, Alcimus, Hilarius, Eusebius. His derivation of *Lachanius*, however, from λάχανον, would not give the quantity required here by the metre. A similar objection indeed may be raised to Burmann's *Laecanius*, as the second syllable seems to be long: cf. Mart. 5, 44 *Thais habet nigros, niveos Laecania dentes.*

numinis instar. Cf. Ov. Met. 14, 124 *Numinis instar eris semper mihi.*

596 terrigenas. Mueller's conjecture, *Tybrigenas*, is not only unnecessary but unsuitable, for with *suos* at end of line some such general word as *terrigenas* is required to give it point.

Zumpt objects to the word *terrigenas* as only applicable to the earth-sprung giants. But the word seems quite appropriate here; 'its own earth-sprung men' is equivalent to men sprung from its own soil, its aborigines, its natives, just as *terrâ orti*, 'natives of the soil,' 'aborigines,' is used by Quint. 3, 7, 26 *et multum auctoritatis affert vetustas, ut iis, qui terra dicuntur orti.*

Lydia here means Etruria, which country was reputed to have been colonised from Lydia. The Roman poets often use Lydian as equivalent to Etruscan, see Verg. A. 2, 781 sq. *ubi Lydius arva Inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.* So ib. 9, 11 *Lydorumque manum collectos armat agrestes*, where the allusion is to Aeneas securing Etruscan aid.

597 priscos mores, 'the manners of the good old times.'

598 For **rectores** see note on line 504.

599 For **Decius** and **Lucillus**, see Introd., page 34.

600 Per Corythi populos, i.e. through the nations of Etruria. Corytus, or Corythus, now Cortona, was an ancient town in Etruria, so called from its mythical founder. It is sometimes used by the poets for Etruria, see Verg. A. 9, 10 *extremas Corythi penetravit ad urbes.*

601 Nec mirum si, i.e. *nec mirum quod*: cf. Terent. Andr. 4, 1, 27 *quid istuc tam mirum est, de te si exemplum capit.* Ovid Her. 15, 85 *Quid mirum, primae si me lanuginis aetas Abstulit.* Id. A. A. 3, 26 *Non mirum, populo si favet illa suo.* The meaning is 'nor is it strange that the father, reproduced in

the character of his great son, feels happy in a descendant so like him.' For the use of **redditus** cf. Quintil. 1, 1, 6 *et Laelii filia reddidisse in loquendo paternam eloquentiam traditur.* Claud. Idyll. 7, 24 *alter in alterius redditur ore parens.*

603 'Neither Turnus nor Juvenal will be found to surpass his satire that sports in stinging verse.' **Huius** refers to Lucillus, not to Decius, as appears from the whole context, and especially from line 613. For **ludente Camenis** cf. Verg. Eclog. 6, 1 sq. *Prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu Nostra . . . Thalia.* Ov. Tr. 2, 538 *Bucolicis iuvenis luserat ante modis.* The use of *ludere* in reference to satire may be justified by the title of Seneca's work, Ludus de Morte Claudii, which was bitter enough.

For the conjecture *laedente* mentioned in the C. N. cf. Hor. Sat. 2, 1, 21 sq. *Quanto rectius hoc, quam tristi laedere versu Pantolabum scurram, Nomentanumque nepotem.*

604 Turnus was a satyric poet who lived under Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. See Zumpt's note on line 603, where various references to him are quoted. His fragments are collected by Wernsdorf in his Poet. Lat. Min., vol. iii., page 59. See also Teuffel, 441, 9, and Bähr vii. § 157.

605 censoria lima. The allusion is to criticism or strict judgment passed by a writer or speaker, not to the office of censor. Cf. Trebell. Pollio Gallien. 3 *constabat autem, censuram parentis cum ferre non potuisset, votivum illi fuisse, quod imminentem cervicibus suis gravitatem patriam non haberet.* Mart. Ep. 5, 80, 12 sq. *Quem censoria cum meo Severo Docti lima momorderit Secundi.* The censorship in the technical sense had ceased more than four centuries before the time of Rutilius.

607 sacri arbiter auri—i.e. *comes sacrarum largitionum.*

608 harpyias. For the use of this word in reference to men greedy of gain, cf. Juv. 8, 129 sq. *cuncta per oppida curvis Unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno.* Sidon. Apoll. Ep. 5, 7 *illi in exactionibus Harpyiae sunt.*

It is remarkable that in this line Rutilius makes *Harpyiae* a word of four syllables, for which reason Forcellini would write *Harpuias.* In the next line, the word may be scanned as trisyllabic, in accordance with the ordinary usage, e.g. Ov. M. 3, 214 sq. *pecudesque secuta Poemenis et natis comitata Harpyia duobus.*

610 glutineus seems to be found only here; *glutinosus* is the usual form.

Similar metaphors are found, Catull. 25, 9 *Quae nunc tuis ab unguibus reglutina et remitte.* Mart. Ep. 8, 59, 3 sq. *Ne contemne caput; nihil est furacius illo; Non fuit Autolyci tam piceata manus.* In the latter passage, however, some read *piperata.*

611 So skilled are they in avoiding detection that the hundred-eyed Argus seems to have but one eye to watch them with, and the sharp-eyed Lynceus seems to be blind.

612 With the text, which follows the margin of V, the meaning is, that while the guardians (the allusion is to the *comites sacrarum largitionum*) plunder the public property, they (i.e. the Harpies) flit about, i.e. the Harpies are at liberty to plunder when those whose duty it is to protect the public property themselves steal it.

If the reading *custodes* instead of *custodum* be adopted, the verb *volant* will be transferred from the Harpies to whom it is appropriate, to the words *publica furta*

with which it is inappropriate, unless, indeed, these latter words are taken as abstract for concrete, and referred to the Harpies, in apposition to *quae* in the preceding line, '(who) as public thieves flit about among the guardians.'

Perhaps, however, we should retain *Inter custodes* of the mss. and read *volunt* instead of *volant*, 'even among the guardians they (the Harpies) wish for public thefts,' i.e. set their mind on plundering the public. Cf. Cic. Verr. 2, 3, 85, 196 *nummos volo*, 'I want the money.'

Baehrens, who reads *Inter custodes publica furta rorant*, has the following note:—"ipsos aerarii praefectos, qui tamquam Argus invigilant thesauris, tam callide decipiunt ut coram illis rapinas suas consumant."

613 Briareia praeda, booty taken by men with hands as many as Briareus, of whom Vergil says, A. 10, 565 *centum cui brachia dicunt Centenasque manus*. Cf. Sidon. Apoll. Ep. 5, 7 *quorum si nares afflaverit uspiam rubiginosi aura marsupii, confestim videbis illic et oculos Argi et manus Briarei.*

Professor Postgate (Class. Rev., vol. xxi., page 26, points out that *praeda* here practically means 'pillaging,' a sense of the word which he defends by examples in his Silva Maniliana, page 38.

615–644 Returning from Pisa to Triturrita, Rutilius was preparing to sail, when the weather breaks, and he is obliged to postpone his departure for several days. They pass the time in hunting. Description of the storm and its effects.

615 Pisaea ex urbe, i.e. the city that was founded from Pisa in Elis: *Pisanus* is the form of the adjective referring to Pisa in Etruria: see above line 576, and II. 12 *Pisano portu*. *Pisaeus* is the form used in reference to Pisa in Elis: see Ov. M. 5, 409 *Est medium Cyanes et Pisaeae Arethusae . . . aequor*. Id. Am. 3, 2, 15 *Ah quam paene Pelops Pisaea concidit hasta*, i.e. by the spear of Oenomaus, King of Elis. Juv. 13, 99 *Pisaeae ramus olivae*.

617 For **insorduit** used of what we call 'dirty weather' cf. Sidon. Apoll. Ep. 2, 2 *si turbo austrinus insorduit*.

619 maligna, 'unkind,' 'threatening.' Zumpt compares Verg. A. 6, 270 sq. *Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna Est iter in silvis*; but the meaning of *maligna* in that passage is rather 'scanty,' 'dim.'

620 Insanituris fretis. Cf. Hor. C. 3, 4, 30 *insanientem Bosporum*. Verg. Eclog. 9, 43 *insani feriant sine litora fluctus*. Ov. Her. 18, 28 *Insani sit mora longa freti*. See also II. 24 *Tyrrheni rabies Adriacique maris*.

621 Otia navalia, 'respite from ships,' i.e. from sailing, as the context sufficiently shows. The analogy, however, of *otium literatum* in Cic. Tusc. 5, 36, 105, and *otium studiosum* in Plin. Ep. 1, 22, suggests that the words ought to mean 'leisure devoted to ships,' and accordingly Crusius proposes to read *otia nemoralia*, 'leisure devoted to the woods.' Zumpt, however, defends the text from *operis otium* in Plin. N. H. 11, 10, which means 'rest from work.'

Otia terimus. Cf. Symmach. Ep. 2, 32 *ego ab omnibus negotiis feriatus triste otium tero*.

623 vilicus hospes. Zumpt thinks the allusion is not to the tribune mentioned in line 561, nor to the owner of the villa of Triturrita, but to the master of a wayside inn, such as we have already had mentioned in line 381.

625 Funditur, 'is overthrown.'

626 fulmine dentis. Cf. Phaedrus 1, 21, 5 *aper fulmineis dentibus.* Ov. M. 10, 550 *Fulmen habent acres in aduncis dentibus apri.* Ib. 1, 305 sq. *nec vires fulminis apro Crura nec ablato prosunt velocia cervo.* Ib. 8, 289 *Fulmen ab ore* (of the Calydonian boar) *venit; frondes afflatibus ardent.*

627 Meleagrei lacerti. Cf. Ov. M. 8, 344 sq. *Cuspis Echionio primum contorta lacerto Vana fuit.*

628 laxet nodos, &c. Cf. Lucan. 4, 632 *Herculeosque novo laxavit corpore nodos.* For the description of Hercules carrying the Erymanthian boar, see Valer. Flacc. 1, 374 sq. *Quique Erymanthei sudantem pondere monstri Amphitryoniadem Tegeaeo limine Cepheus Iuvit.*

Nodos here means 'joints.' Cf. Plin. N. H. 11, 37, 88 *nodosque corporum, qui vocantur articuli.* There is, perhaps, an allusion to the Homeric γυῖα λέλυντο. From the passage of Pliny quoted this would seem the most natural explanation. Zumpt and Wernsdorf, however, seem to take *nodos* as 'muscles,' 'sinews,' *ligaturae membrorum.* There may be a reference to the expression *nodus Herculis* or *Herculaneus*, a kind of knot difficult to untie. See Plin. N. H. 28, 6, 17 *volnera nodo Herculis praeligare.* Sen. Ep. 87 *unus tibi nodus, sed Herculaneus restat.*

630 Literally, 'and the booty is lightened by song for him who is carrying it back.' The reading of V, *reportando*, is explained by Zumpt as an ablative of time, 'dum reportant praedam'; by Damm as a dative, 'praeda nobis levis fit ad reportandum'; by Barth it is taken as agreeing with *carmine*, 'with re-echoing song.' Cf. Verg. G. 3, 375 *et magno laeti clamore reportant.*

631 sq. Cf. Ov. M. 1, 264 sq. *madidis Notus evolat alis, Terribilem picea tectus caligine vultum.*

Africus is the south-west-wind; *Notus*, line 616, is the south-wind.

632 Dies is often used for 'daylight' e.g. Verg. A. 1, 88 *Eripiunt subito nubes coelumque diemque Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra.* Ov. M. 7, 410 sq. *Est via declivis, per quam Tirynthius heros Restantem, contraque diem radiosque micantes Obliquantem oculos, nexis adamante catenis Cerberon abstraxit.* Ib. 13, 601 sq. *nigrique volumina fumi Infecere diem.* Ib. 5, 444 *ubi alma dies hebetarat sidera.*

In the present passage the word seems to be used with reference to its double sense as a measure of time and as daylight; the south-west-wind by bringing pitch-black clouds denies daylight for successive days, day after day.

For **continuos** cf. Plaut. Mil. 3, 1, 146 *triduum continuum, . . . dies decem continuos.*

633 It is now the morning setting of the watery Hyades, i.e. according to Columella xi. 2, the 21st (see Itasius Lemniacus) of November, when they set in the morning twilight. This marked the most wet and stormy period of the year. See Plin. N. H. 18, (26), 66 *sidus vehemens et terra marique turbidum.*

634 The constellation of the Hare is near the left foot of Orion. It sets about the beginning of November, a stormy and rainy period.

637 Orioni. This quadrisyllabic form, which is the MSS. reading, is often found at the end of a hexameter, e.g. Hor. C. 1, 28, 21. Luc. 9, 836. Claud. vi. Cons.

Hon. 178. The form *Oarioni*, which Mueller unnecessarily introduces into his text, is found perhaps only in Catull. 66, 94. Zumpt is wrong in supposing it to be the reading of V, as he apparently does.

638 The dew-drenched prey (i.e. the Hare whose setting is accompanied by rain) flies from the burning dogstar (i.e. Sirius, which seems in constant pursuit of the Hare), cf. Arat. Phaen. 338 sq.:

> ποσσὶν δ' Ὡρίωνος ὑπ' ἀμφοτέροισι Λαγωός
> ἐμμενὲς ἤματα πάντα διώκεται. αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' αἰεὶ
> Σείριος ἐξόπιθεν φέρεται μετιόντι ἐοικώς,
> καί οἱ ἐπαντέλλει καί μίν κατιόντα δοκεύει.

639 We saw the sea yellow with disturbed sand, and the country covered with the eddying floods it dashed up.

641 Just as the ocean pours into the country when it overwhelms with its errant surge the fields from which it has again to retire.

The poet, as Zumpt says, compares the effect of the storm he saw on the Italian coast, where, as throughout the Mediterranean, there is little or no tide, to the great tides that on the littoral of the open ocean rise high so as to flood the fields, though of course they ebb again and leave the beach dry.

643 sq. Whether flowing back from another world (i.e. the moon, it (i.e. the ocean) dashes against ours (i.e. the earth), or whether it feeds the twinkling stars with its waters.

The poet here refers to two theories of the causes of the tides, viz. the influence of the moon or of the sun. Lucan, in a passage that is a valuable comment on the present, mentions also a third suggested cause, namely a wind blowing from the poles. It was a popular belief among the ancients that the sun and the stars were fed on the waters of the ocean. See Lucan Pharsal. 1, 409 sq. *Quaque iacet litus dubium, quod terra fretumque Vindicat alternis vicibus, cum funditur ingens Oceanus vel cum refugis se fluctibus aufert. Ventus ab extremo pelagus sic axe volutet, Destituatque ferens; an sidere* (probably the moon) *mota secundo Tethyos unda vagae lunaribus aestuet horis* (phases of the moon); *Flammiger an Titan, ut alentes hauriat undas, Erigat Oceanum fluctusque ad sidera tollat, Quaerite, quos agitat mundi labor; at mihi semper Tu, quaecumque moves tam crebros causa meatus, ut superi voluere, late.* In speaking of the Syrtes Lucan attributes to the sun the power of drying up the sea, Phars. 9, 311 sq. *vel plenior alto Olim Syrtis erat pelago, penitusque natabat; Sed rapidus Titan ponto sua lumina pascens Aequora subduxit zonae vicina perustae: Et nunc pontus adhuc Phoebo siccante repugnat. Mox ubi damnosum radios admoverit aevum. Tellus Syrtis erit; nam iam brevis unda superne Innatat, et late periturum deficit aequor.* Ib. 10, 258 sq. *Nec non Oceano pasci Phoebumque polumque Credimus; hunc, calidi tetigit cum brachia caneri, Sol rapit atque undae prius quam quod digerat aer, Tollitur.* Sen. Dial. 1, 1, 4 *iam vero si quis observaverit nudari litora pelago in se recedente cademque intra exiguum tempus operiri, credet caeca quadam volutatione modo contrahi undas et introrsum agi, modo erumpere et magno cursu repetere sedem suam, cum interim illae portionibus crescunt et ad horam ac diem subeunt ampliores minoresque, prout illas lunare sidus elicuit, ad cuius arbitrium oceanus exundat.*

BOOK II.

1–10 Rutilius opens his Second Book with an apology for dividing his work into two parts.

1 nec multa volumina passus, i.e. the parchment had not been often rolled round the stick. This literal sense of *volumen* is rare; but it is somewhat like that in Verg. A. 2, 208 *sinuantque immensa volumine terga*, where *sinuant volumine* expresses the writhing motion by which a serpent progresses; and Ovid M. 2, 70 sq. *Adde quod assidua rapitur vertigine coelum Sideraque alta trahit celerique volumine torquet*, 'with swift revolution.' Zumpt also compares Plin. N. H. 7 (45), 46 *in divo quoque Augusto . . . magna sortis humanae reperiuntur volumina*, 'great revolutions of fortune.'

3 I have adopted in the text Dr. Purser's conjecture *timui incessura*. The initial syllable of *incessura*, written in the contracted form *ī*, would easily drop out after the *i* of *timui*. *Timuit* would then be possible, and would naturally be substituted for *timui*, as the third person *poterat* occurs in the preceding line. For the elision at the first syllable of the fourth foot cf. lines 449 and 559.

If the MSS. reading *timuit cessura* be retained, *liber* is the subject of *timuit* as of *poterat* in the preceding line, and the meaning is: It (i.e. my book) feared disgust would yield to, i.e. give up, the continuous toil; it feared the readers would be disgusted and would cease reading a book continued without a break. *Taedia* is practically the persons who feel ennui, and *continuus labor* the task of reading a book not divided into parts. For the rare construction of *timere* with accus. and inf. *taedia incessura* (esse) cf. Liv. 10, 36, 3 *ni cedenti instaturum alterum timuissent*.

With Mueller's reading *censura*, the meaning would be—The book might reasonably have been longer; but the writer's critical judgment feared readers would get tired of a book that ran on without a break, and so he divided it into two parts (see line 9).

4 iuge is properly used of water perennially welling up. For the sense of the passage cf. Prudent. contra Symmachum 1. *Sed iam tempus iter longi cohibere libelli, Ne tractum sine fine ferat fastidia carmen.*

7 sq. Cf. Quint. 4, 5, 22 *non aliter quam facientibus iter multum detrahunt fatigationis notata inscriptis lapidibus spatia.*

9 The poet divides between two books the blushes (natural to a modest author) which he ought to have boldly met at once—i.e. by writing the whole work in one book. This long introduction of itself proves pretty clearly that something has been lost at the end of Book II., and that the poem, as we have it, is incomplete. The division into two books is due, not to the arbitrary judgment of an editor, but to the deliberate act of the poet himself; and it is inconceivable that if the poet intended to describe only one day's journey he should open a fresh book for the purpose, and introduce it with so elaborate an exordium, especially as he apologizes for the brevity of the first book, which is much longer. We may, therefore, safely conclude that he intended the second book to be much longer than what we now

have; but either he was prevented from accomplishing his purpose or much of what he wrote has perished, as the copyist of R expressly says.

11–16 The weather clears, and the poet resumes his journey from the Portus Pisanus. As he approaches Luna, the slopes of the Apennines come in sight, running down to the sea.

11. Freed from the cloudy blockade of the sea—i.e. from the clouds that beset the sea. Cf. Plin. Paneg. 81 *submota campis irruptio ferarum, et obsidione quadam liberatus agrestium labor.*

solutis sc. *nobis.*

12 Pisano portu. Some read *Pisano e portu*; but the ablative without the preposition may be used to express the point of departure, as in I. 643 *sive alio (orbe) refluus.*

13 radiis crispantibus. *crispans* may be either transitive or intransitive. Zumpt prefers the former, comparing Valer. Flacc. 1, 310 *Mimas simul extulit omnes Alma novo crispans pelagus Tithonia Phoebo.* The meaning then will be that the sun's rays ripple, roughen the surface of the sea. Wernsdorf prefers to take the word as intransitive—the glittering, trembling (literally, curling rays: and he compares Poem vii. in vol. iv. of his Lesser Latin Poets, line 19, *Ac tantum tremulo crispentur coerula motu.* In either case the line expresses Keble's 'many-twinkling smile of Ocean.' Cf. Aesch. Pr. 90 *ποντίων τε κυμάτων ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα.* Lucr. 1, 8 *tibi rident aequora ponti.* Id. 5, 1004 sq. *Nec patefrat quemquam placidi pellacia ponti Subdola pellicere in fraudem ridentibus undis.*

14 For **murmurat** used of the rippling sound of water as a ship or other body ploughs its way through it, cf. Verg. A. 10, 212 *Spumea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda.*

15 sq. A little above Pisa the slopes of the Apennines approach the sea, and run out into a lofty promontory, **aerio monte.** For **devexum**, 'a slope,' cf. Sen. Q. N. 3, 3 *aqua in devexo fluit, in plano continetur et stagnat.* For **aerius**, 'high,' 'lofty,' cf. Verg. Georg. 3, 474 *aerias Alpes.* Ov. M. 2, 226 *Aeriaeque Alpes et nubifer Apenninus.* For **Thetis**, 'the sea-goddess,' used for 'the sea,' cf. Verg. E. 4, 32 *tentare Thetin ratibus.*

17–40 Description of Italy.

17 *Italiam rerum dominam*, 'Italy, queen of the world.' Cf. I. 194, where the expression *dominas arces* is used of Rome.

cingere visu, 'embrace in his view.'

19 Pliny N. H. 3, 5 uses the same simile of an oak-leaf in reference to Italy, *est ergo folio, maxime querno, adsimilata, multo proceritate amplior quam latitudine.*

procedere, 'project,' 'extend.' Cf. Plin. N. H. 5, 29, 30, 110 *Lydia . . . super Ioniam procedit.* Ib. 4, 2, 3, 6 *promunturium, quod contra procedit, appellatur Rhion.*

20 conveniente, 'narrowing in,' a use with which perhaps may be compared Plin. N. H. 6, 28, 32, 144 *huc convenit utrumque bivium, eorum qui Syria Palmyram petiere et eorum qui a Gaza venerunt.*

21 As the Roman mile was 1617 English yards, or 143 yards less than the English mile, **milia decies centena**, 1000 Roman miles, would be equivalent to about

918 English miles, and with this estimate of the extent of Italy Pliny practically agrees, as he makes its length 1020 Roman miles. See N. H. 3, 5 *patet longitudine ab Alpino fine Praetoriae Augustae* (now Aosta) *per urbem* (i.e. Rome) *Capuamque cursu meante Rhegium oppidum decies centena et viginti passuum.* The true length of Italy, however, from the sources of the River Tosa, near the Simplon, to Cape Cimiti, in Calabria, or Cape Lucca, in Otranto, is only about 700 miles. The discrepancy is to be explained by noting that the length given is not in the most direct line, but by the roads usually travelled, as, indeed, the first passage quoted from Pliny expressly states, and as is implied by the word *teruntur* in the present passage of Rutilius. *Terere viam*, or *terere iter*, is a familiar phrase for travelling by road, and *milia teruntur* is a natural modification of this expression. Schrader's conjecture, therefore, *feruntur*, in the sense of *esse traduntur*, is not only unnecessary, but actually less appropriate to the passage than the MS. reading, *teruntur*.

23 In latum, 'in width,' 'in breadth.' Cf. Ov. M. 1, 335 sq. *cava buccina sumitur illi Tortilis, in latum quae turbine crescit ab imo.* The expression is in contrast with *per longum*, 'in length,' line 21. Wernsdorf conjectures *in latus at*, no doubt on account of *laterum conveniente sinu*, in line 20. The conjecture, however, is unnecessary and improbable, and, in any case, should be plural rather than singular.

damnosa is a natural epithet of the 'destructive,' 'harmful' rage of the sea, that eats into the windings of the coast. It is certainly more natural than Heinsius' conjecture, *clamosa*.

25 'where the land is narrowest between the adjoining seas.' For the use of **iuncti**, cf. Ov. Pont. 1, 4, 31 *Iunctior Haemonia est Ponto quam Roma sinistro.* Id. Tr. 4, 10, 110 *Iuncta pharetratis Sarmatis ora Getis.*

26 130 Roman miles are equivalent to about 120 English. The width of Italy of course differs much, according to the point chosen for measurement. Rutilius seems to have taken the part across from the mouth of the Tiber to the mouth of the river Aternus, now the Pescara; and to have followed Pliny's estimate, as in the matter of the length of the country. See Pliny, N. H. 3, 5 *Latitudo eius varia est: cccx milium inter duo maria, infernum et superum amnesque Varum et Arsiam; mediae atque ferme circa urbem Romam, ab ostio Aterni amnis in Adriaticum mare influentis, ad Tiberina ostia cxxxvi et paulo minus a Castro novo Adriatici maris Alsium ad Tuscum aequor.*

Italy is of course much narrower, indeed only about 20 miles wide, in Calabria, between the sinus Scyllaceus, now the Gulf of Squillace, and the sinus Terinaeus, now the Gulf of Eufemia; but to this part Rutilius does not allude, as he is describing the general appearance of the country, and so naturally confines himself to the width between the Tuscan Sea and the Adriatic.

27 The mountain range in the centre, that is, the Apennines, slopes towards the two opposite seas, the Tyrrhene and the Adriatic. Cf. Lucan 2, 396 sq. *Umbrosis mediam qua collibus Apenninus Erigit Italiam, nullo qua vertice tellus Altius intumuit, propiusque accessit Olympo. Mons inter geminas medius se porrigit undas Inferni superique maris; collesque coercent Hinc Tyrrhena vado frangentes*

aequora Pisae Illinc Dalmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon. Claud. vi. Cons. Hon. 285 sq. *ad montes reliquo cum robore cessi, Quos Apenninum perhibent. Hunc esse ferebat Incola, qui Siculum porrectus adusque Pelorum Finibus ad Ligurum populos complectitur omnes Italiae, geminumque latus stringentia longe Utraque perpetuo discriminat aequora tractu.*

28 Where both suns, i.e. the rising and the setting sun, bring and withdraw the day; that is to say, on the east and on the west. Cf. Ov. M. 1, 338 *Litora voce replet sub utroque iacentia Phoebo.*

29 Urget 'presses upon,' i.e. 'hems in' or 'overhangs.' Cf. Verg. A. 11, 523 sq. (*vallis*) *quam densis frondibus atrum Urget utrimque latus.* Ib. 7, 565 sq. *densis hunc* (i.e. the lake Ampsanctus) *frondibus atrum Urget utrimque latus nemoris.*

30 For **caerula** 'the sea,' cf. I. 316. **occiduis iugis,** 'western ridges,' cf. Val. Fl. 2, 621 *occiduis regnator montibus Atlas.*

31 If we admit the world was created by intelligence, and this great fabric was the design of a god. Cf. Sen. de Benefic. 4, 7 *quid enim aliud est natura quam deus, et divina ratio, toti mundo et partibus eius inserta?* See also note on I. 17.

For **machina** cf. Lucret. 5, 97 *Una dies dabit exitio, multosque per annos Sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi.*

33 Latiis. It is unnecessary to follow Castalio in reading *Latii.* Cf. I. 11 *Latias domos.* II. 46 *Latiae neci.* *Latius* is here equivalent to 'Roman.'

Praetexuit. Cf. I. 537. Verg. Ecl. 7, 12 *Hic viridis tenera praetexit arundine ripas Mincius.* Plin. N. H. 6, 25, 29 *semper fuit Parthis in radicibus montium, qui omnes eas gentes praetexunt.* For the construction with dative and accusative, 'set the Apennines as a protective fringe to the guards of Rome,' cf. Val. Fl. 3, 436 *glaucasque comis praetexere frondes Imperat.*

34 'Barriers scarcely accessible by mountain paths.' Cf. I. 38 *cautibus alta rigent.* For **claustra** used of mountain passes cf. Tac. Hist. 3, 2 *quid tum claustra montium profutura?*

35 sq. The meaning is that nature feared the envy that might be felt by other nations towards Italy for its riches and fertility; and, thinking the Alps an insufficient protection against attacks threatening from the north, made the Apennines a further barrier of defence, just as in the human body the vital parts are most carefully fenced in. Cf. Livy 5, 34, where, as the Gauls were crossing into Italy, he says *Alpes inde oppositae sunt.* Juv. 10, 152 *Opposuit* (sc. Hannibali) *natura Alpemque nivemque.*

37 vitalia. Cf. Sen. de Ira 2, 1 *in corpore nostro ossa nervique et articuli, firmamenta totius et vitalia, minime speciosa visu, prius ordinantur.*

38 Nature was not satisfied to put only one protective covering over the valued works she produced. Mathis translates 'ned una fiata sol, ma più rinchiuse le più preziose cose che v' ha fatte.'

tulit. For a similar use of *ferre* cf. Lucr. 5, 942 sq. *Plurima tum tellus, etiam maiora, ferebat; Multaque praeterea novitas tum florida mundi Pabula dura tulit.*

41–60 Invective against Stilicho. On the charges here brought against him, and on his relations with Rutilius, see Introd., page 35 sq.

42 Zumpt, who thinks V has *qui*, keeps that reading, though, as he says, *quod*

is more suitable. Some have thought the allusion here is to the admission of barbarians to serve in the Roman army; but this custom had been already introduced under Theodosius; and it is more probable that the reference is to Stilicho's allowing Alaric to enter Italy, as is more fully expressed in lines 46 sq. Stilicho may have been held responsible for Alaric's advance into Italy on account of the leniency with which he treated Alaric both at Pholoe and after the battle of Pollentia. See Introd., pages 36 sq.

The **arcanum imperii** here referred to would then be the facility and immunity with which barbarians could invade Italy—a secret which the poet alleges Stilicho betrayed in order that by the wasting of the Roman race his own interests might be advanced. This view of his motives is expressly stated by Orosius 7, 38 *Interea comes Stilicho Eucherium filium suum, sicut a plerisque traditur, iam inde Christianorum persecutionem a puero privatoque meditantem, in imperium quoquo modo sustinere nitebatur. Quamobrem Alaricum cunctamque Gothorum gentem, occulto foedere fovens, ad terendam terrendamque rempublicam reservavit.* See also St. Jerome Ep. 11 *quis credat, Romam in gremio suo non pro gloria, sed pro salute sua pugnare; immo ne pugnare quidem, sed auro et cuncta supellectile vitam redimere? Quod non vitio principum, qui religiosissimi sunt, sed scelere semibarbari* (i.e. Stilichonis) *accidit proditoris, qui nostris contra nos opibus armavit inimicos.*

For the expression **arcanum imperii** cf. Tac. Hist. 1, 4 *evulgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri.*

Zumpt, however, follows Simler and Wernsdorf in taking *arcani* as an adjective agreeing with *imperii*, and not as a substantive. According to this explanation the *imperium* itself is called *arcanum*, i.e., as Wernsdorf says, 'tectum, custoditum, et undique munitum, praesertim ab Alpibus et Apenninis montibus, quos supra nominatos hic potissimum respicit Rutilius.'

43 Rutilius here uses in reference to Stilicho language similar to that which Claudian uses about Rufinus. See In Rufinum, 1, 305 sq. *Sic avidus praedo iam non per singula saevit, Sed sceptris inferre minas omnique perempto Milite Romanas ardet prosternere vires.* The reading *genero* quoted by Mathis would, of course, refer to Honorius, the son-in-law of Stilicho.

44 summis miscuit ima. For this familiar expression for throwing everything into confusion, cf. Cic. Leg. 3, 9, 19 *omnia infima summis paria fecit, turbavit, miscuit.*

45 Literally, 'and while he fears in respect of whatsoever he had made himself to be feared, while he fears the thing in which he had made himself formidable.' The meaning is, he had made himself feared in respect of the barbarians, through his influence with them, and he is now himself afraid of them. Professor Reid's version, 'fearing to suffer all that had caused himself to be feared,' would seem to require strictly *ipsum* for *ipse*. Cf. the saying of Liberius with regard to Caesar Macrob. Sat. 2, 7 *Necesse est multos timeat, quem multi timent.*

47 Cf. Claud. Bell. Get. 577 *Visceribus mediis ipsoque in corde videtis Bella geri. Patrem clipeis defendite Tibrin.*

47, 48 There is a valuable note on this passage by Professor J. S. Reid in

the Classical Review, vol. i., page 78. The subject to **condidit** is Stilicho, who admitted the Goths by compact into the *viscera* of Latium. Line 48, as it stands in the text, is usually explained, 'by a wile more free from danger than the wile of an openly inflicted disaster'; i.e. it was safer for Stilicho to use against his country the wile of a compact with the Goths than the wile of a direct attack. The meaning, however, is very forced. Reid thinks there is an allusion to the Trojan horse, and that the true reading is *Iliacae cladis deteriore dolo*, a conjecture which, so far as *deteriore* is concerned, he defends by an examination of the probable script (Longobardic) of the original ms. The meaning then will be 'by a wile more wicked than that which brought disaster on Troy.' For *dolus* he compares Plaut. Pseud. 1244 *superavit dolum Troianum atque Ulixem Pseudolus*. See also C. N.

49 'Rome herself lay exposed to his skin-clad abettors.' *Satelles* is here used in a bad sense—an assistant in crime, an accomplice. See Theod. Cod. 9, 42, 20 *Proscriptorum satellitumque fortunas aerario nostro iubemus accedere*. Ib. 1, 22 *Qui suas opes praedoni publico* (i.e. Stiliconi) *vel eius filio* (Eucherio, *ceterisque satellitibus dederunt*.

For **pellitis** as an epithet of the Goths, cf. Ov. Pont. 4, 10 sq. *Hic mihi Cimmerio bis tertia ducitur aestas Litore pellitos inter agenda Getas*. Claud. Bell. Get. 481 *Crinigeri sedere patres, pellita Getarum Curia*.

50 See note on line 42.

52 Sibyllinae fata opis, i.e. the Sibylline oracles that used to help the Romans in times of difficulty. This burning of the Sibylline Books by Stilicho is not mentioned elsewhere.

53 'We hate Althaea for the death of [i.e. caused by] the consumed firebrand.' We hate Althaea for causing the death of her son Meleager, which she did by burning up the brand on which his life depended, according to the well-known story as told in Apollodorus 1, 7, 8 and Ov. M. 8, 270 sq.

54 The story of Scylla causing the death of her father Nisus, King of Megara, by plucking from his head the purple or golden lock of hair on which his life depended, is well known. The story is told in the Ciris, usually printed with the works of Vergil; and Zumpt conjectures that the words **flere putantur aves** here have reference to the laments contained in the latter part of that poem from line 400.

55 The Sibylline Books, as being consulted for help in times of trouble, are called the fate-fraught pledges of the everlasting empire.

56 Cf. Stat. Theb. 5, 150 *Idem animus solare domos iuvenumque senumque Praecipitare colos*. Lucan 7, 51 *sua quisque et publica fata Praecipitare cupit*. Ib. 7, 352 *Praecipitare meam fatis potuere senectam*.

57 Tartarei Neronis. Nero is represented as sent to Tartarus, not Elysium, on account of his crimes. Cf. Verg. A. 6, 542 sq. *at laeva malorum Exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit*. For *Tartareus* as an epithet expressing detestation, cf. Ammian. Marcell. 15, 6, 1 *Paulus, Tartareus ille delator*. Ib. 29, 2, 6 *Heliodorus, Tartareus ille malorum omnium cum Palladio fabricator*.

58 'Let a more miserable shade consume the Stygian torches,' i.e. let Stilicho be more miserable than Nero, and let him experience the horrors of the torches of

the Furies. Cf. Stat. Theb. 11, 2 *furias virtutis iniquae Consumpsit Capaneus.* Ib. 10, 807 *viden' ut iugulo consumpserit ensem?*

61–68 Journey resumed. Description of Luna and the neighbouring marble quarries. The poem abruptly ends, the rest being lost.

61 deverticulo, 'digression.' Cf. Liv. 9, 17 *legentibus velut deverticula amoena quaerere.* Juv. 15, 72 *a deverticulo repetatur fabula.*

63 candentia moenia, i.e. Luna. See Introd., page 60. The accusative without a preposition to express motion to, as with the names of towns.

65 Indigenis. Zumpt refers this word to the adjective *indigenus*, which is found in Apulei. Met. 1 *mox in urbe Latia indigenum sermonem excolui.*

ridentia lilia. Cf. Petron. c. 127 *Albaque de viridi riserunt lilia prato.*

68 intactas nives. Cf. Ov. Pont. 2, 5, 38 *sunt tua brachia lacte Et non calcata candidiora nive.*

WITHDRAWN

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